

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS
AMONG SECOND GENERATION MOROCCANS IN THE NETHERLANDS

By

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This study investigates the use of Dutch in conversational interactions by second generation Moroccan immigrants. In view of the complexity of the speech situation of particularly the older second generation, a framework for analysis was adopted which applies a sociolinguistic and ethnographic perspective to second language (L2) acquisition and intercultural communication.

Speech data were obtained from a total of forty-three subjects living in Utrecht, the Netherlands. The L2 conversational competence of two groups of nineteen Moroccan subjects was assessed based on ten conversations with students integrated in the Dutch school system and eight conversations with students who attended International Linking Classes, a transitional type of education for newly-

arrived immigrant children. Quantitative data were used in addition to qualitative observations to relate conversational and sociodemographic variables to proficiency in spoken discourse.

Results indicate that though both groups of second language learners were proficient in maintaining conversational interaction, they employed different turn-taking strategies. Length of residence (LOR) and age at arrival were found to be more strongly correlated with conversational variables than age, which correlated with simultaneous speech only. Cultural differences in discourse style were observed with respect to frequency of turn-taking and simultaneous speech episodes.

In addition, analysis of an extended conversation in Dutch with five young adult Moroccans revealed a number of discourse strategies which were different from those employed by native speakers of Dutch. For instance, (1) continuous use of back-channel utterances served to re-establish conversational control; (2) organization of discourse topic contributed to a more formal style of argumentation; (3) simultaneous speech functioned as a solidarity strategy; and (4) frequent repetitions of utterances maintained cohesion and intensified the argumentative structure.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

While the problems of ethnic and cultural minorities in the United States have been amply documented from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, the status of the current European immigrant situation is relatively new to American researchers. The recent influx of large numbers of immigrants from the Mediterranean area into Northern and Western European countries has had a strong impact on the host societies. A majority of the immigrant societies has traditionally been monolingual and monocultural, which has left them unprepared to adequately deal with the situation. Especially in view of the vast differences in language and culture between the immigrants' native countries and the host societies, many unanticipated problems of cultural and linguistic integration have recently surfaced.

One area of research to which these problems are of central interest is sociolinguistics, which has long been concerned with the influence of social and cultural factors on language use. The present study examines the language contact situation of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands

from a sociolinguistic perspective. The investigation specifically addresses the question of the usage of Dutch by second generation Moroccans in conversational interactions.

1.1.1 Problem Statement

A relatively large number of studies have been devoted to the social and economic consequences of the immigrant problems in Western Europe. Only in recent years, however, has the situation been considered from a sociolinguistic perspective. Several large projects have addressed the linguistic situation of the adult immigrant, such as the Adult Language Acquisition Project of the European Science Foundation (Perdue, 1984), the Heidelberg research project (Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt "Pidgin Deutsch," 1975), and the Wuppertal project "Zweisprachenerwerb Italienischer und Spanischer Arbeiter" (ZISA).

While sociolinguistic research in the Netherlands was initially also primarily concerned with the language problems of the adult workers, more recently the integration of primary school children has been of growing concern (cf., for instance, Appel, 1984; v. Helvert, 1985; Lalleman, 1986). The language of adolescents and young adults has not yet received a great amount of attention, however. The situation of the older children of immigrant families, i.e. those who were not born in the Netherlands but reunified

with their fathers/parents at a later stage, has appeared particularly problematic because of the heterogeneity of this group. Research has shown, for example, that they tend to experience more severe problems in adapting to a different society than the younger children and therefore a need exists to understand more about this group of immigrants. Some of the social problems of the second generation will be discussed in Chapter Two (cf. section 2.4), while Chapter Three will attempt to describe their sociolinguistic situation in greater detail. The goal of the present study is to examine some aspects of conversational interaction of three groups of older second generation Moroccan immigrants.

1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

The field of sociolinguistics has rapidly expanded during the past three decades. Early studies by, for instance, Haugen (1953) and Weinreich (1953) pioneered investigations of speech in language contact situations. The work of Labov (e.g. Labov, 1966; 1972b) was instrumental in establishing the systematic analysis of social variability. His methodology depends on the correlation of a number of salient linguistic features with certain social variables. The anthropological tradition, represented by specifically Gumperz and Hymes (e.g. Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974, etc.) adopted an ethnographic perspective

on the study of linguistic variation in society, which they termed "ethnography of communication." An ethnographic description of a speech situation must "apply a cultural context and a cultural interpretation to an observed event" (Fradd, 1983: 2). More recently, the interactive function of communication has become a basis for investigation in sociolinguistics. Many studies have addressed the issue of variability in conversational situations and have focused on analysis of discourse processes in interactions.¹

The present study attempts to combine some of the insights from both the subdisciplines of correlational sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication to examine the discourse patterns of second generation immigrants. Lindenfeld (1979: 132) has suggested that a combined approach, with a "judicious use of the better features of each of them," may discover "the truly significant relationships between the various speech components" in a particular speech situation. Chapter Three will outline a framework for analysis which will be applied to the situation discussed in this study.

1.1.3 Terminology

It is necessary to first define a number of terms which have been subjected to different interpretations in recent literature on this topic.

1. Guest worker/foreign worker/immigrant. Various terms have been employed to describe the workers taking part in the labor migrations. Some examples are migrant or international migrant, foreign employee, international commuter, etc. The term guest worker, however, has been by far the most frequently employed phrase, but has acquired a number of negative connotations, conjuring up an image of a poor, illiterate, unskilled laborer of Mediterranean descent. Shadid (1979: 11), therefore, argues for the rejection of this term on three specific grounds: 1) it refers only to those people who perform the heaviest and least desirable tasks; 2) the concept is misleading in that it suggests altruism on the part of the receiving society; and 3) in contradiction to the facts, it implies a temporary stay on the part of the laborers. He suggests the concept of foreign worker or foreign laborer, as "it indicates the geographical, socio-economic, and legal position of these migrants" (Shadid, 1979: 11). In this study, the more neutral terms, such as immigrant or foreign worker will be preferred over the more traditional usage of guest worker.

2. Second generation. The term second generation will be used to indicate those immigrant children who are either born in the host countries or who are born in the sending countries but, through family reunifications, grow up in the host countries. Several studies (cf. Brassé and de Vries, 1986; de Vries, 1983) have referred to those immigrant

youths who were not born in the host countries as a "transitional" generation, neither belonging to the first nor to the second generation. De Vries (1983: 111) has proposed the cover term allochthone youths for both the second and transitional generation. However, as this term does not seem to solve the problem but merely offers a substitution of terminology, the term second generation will be employed in this study.²

1.2 Methodology

As no comprehensive data appeared to exist on the language use and language behavior of older second generation Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands, several techniques were used to gather linguistic and sociocultural information in a variety of settings. In addition to establishing a structured research design, which will be discussed in section 1.2.3 below, an attempt was made to obtain general data through direct interactions with Moroccans in the Netherlands. For example, through the efforts of a teacher who worked for the elementary school system in the city of Utrecht, I was able to visit the parents of several Moroccan elementary school students. These families consisted of both Arabic- and Berber-speaking Moroccans; quite frequently each of the parents spoke a different language, so that the children were often fluent in both Berber and Arabic. Though conversations could not

be recorded on tape during these visits, informal observations could be made on the role of the various languages in family interactions and on the variation in the use of Dutch between the first and second generation and between the children who were born in Morocco and those who were born in the Netherlands. Furthermore, cultural differences between Moroccans of Berber and of Arabic backgrounds could be observed.

Other observational data were obtained through a variety of activities, including attending cultural events for immigrants, visiting continuing education centers for immigrant women, participating in meetings with various immigrant organizations, following the broadcasts for Moroccan immigrants of the Islamic Broadcasting Organization (the Islamitische Omroep Stichting, or IOS), etc.

Though not all these data are used directly in this study, the purpose of a multi-channelled approach to data gathering was to get as comprehensive an understanding of the linguistic and cultural situation of the Moroccan immigrants as possible. Such information can then be used to compile a "ethnography of communication" (cf. Gumperz and Hymes, 1972), which aids in understanding the sociocultural context for linguistic analysis.

1.2.1 Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore the use of Dutch in conversational interactions by second generation Moroccan immigrants. A detailed evaluation will be given of the complex sociolinguistic situation of the older group of immigrant children who were not born in the Netherlands. The issue of conversational competence will be related to second language acquisition and intercultural communication and will be examined with respect to a variety of settings and sociodemographic factors.

In addition, from a methodological perspective this study will evaluate the significance of quantitative data in sociolinguistics and conversational analysis as well as suggest a possible way in which a quantitative approach may provide a point of departure within a more comprehensive framework of analysis.

The following questions will be considered:

1. In what way do social and situational variables affect the use of Dutch by second generation Moroccan immigrants?
2. What factors must be considered in the acquisition of Dutch conversational competence by adolescent and young adult Moroccan immigrants?
 - a. Which correlations can be observed between conversational variables and sociodemographic data?
 - b. Which variables are most significant in evaluating the conversational skills of second language learners?

3. What discourse strategies are employed by second generation Moroccans in spontaneous conversation in Dutch?
 - a. In what way do these strategies differ from those of native speakers of Dutch?
 - b. To what extent should such strategies be attributed to influence of the native language and culture of the subjects?
 - c. What effects may such strategies have in interethnic encounters?
4. To what extent can quantitative data contribute to a sociolinguistic analysis of conversational interaction?

1.2.2 Research Design

Permission to conduct research was obtained from two secondary schools in Utrecht. Both a MAVO school (cf. section 2.5.2.2), the Julianaschool voor MAVO, and a school for transitional education of immigrant children, the Internationale Schakelklassen (ISK, or 'international linking classes'), agreed to cooperate in the project. Students were asked to participate in the research on a volunteer basis.

Interviews with students were usually conducted in an empty classroom during the midmorning breaks or lunch breaks, or after school hours, so that there was minimal interruption of the students' schedules. First, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire designed to elicit information regarding the students' ethnic, educational, and family backgrounds, their use of language in the home and school environments, during peer

interaction, and in shops. In addition, the instrument asked them to describe their knowledge of both spoken and written Arabic and to evaluate their proficiency in Dutch with respect to speech, reading, writing, and comprehension (see Appendix A).

After students had completed the questionnaire, an informal interview was held. The interviews were structured to elicit information on a variety of sociocultural topics, ranging from the educational or occupational aspirations of the students to the role of religion and traditional values in their lives to interactions with family and friends (see Appendix B). An effort was made to include more than one student at the time in the interviews in order to create a setting which was as comfortable as possible to the students so that the most natural language data could be obtained. Generally, two or three students, often classmates, participated in an interview. The students were encouraged to speak freely on any topic of their own choosing. Each interview was taped using a small cassette recorder. The tape was always started while the students filled out their questionnaires, which was intended to reduce their awareness of the presence of the taperecorder during the interviews. Approximately 10 hours of language data were recorded on tape.

A slightly different procedure was followed with the third group of subjects who were members of a Moroccan youth

organization, the AMMU (Association of Moroccan Migrants in Utrecht). The subjects were also asked to fill out the questionnaire which was adapted to elicit additional information about the work situation of those subjects who were employed.³ Rather than holding separate interviews with the subjects, a group discussion format was adopted. Though an outline for discussion had been prepared by the researcher ahead of time (see Appendix C), the aim of the session was to elicit natural language data. The role of the researcher as "discussion moderator" was rapidly abandoned in favor of a more backgrounded role and the subjects were encouraged to introduce and develop topics according to their own interests. The conversation was recorded in the same manner as the student interviews described above and yielded nearly two hours of language data.

1.2.3 Subjects

Three groups of second generation Moroccans, comprising a total number of 43 subjects, participated in the study. Five of the subjects belonged to a Moroccan youth organization, the Association of Moroccan Migrants in Utrecht (AMMU). The remaining 38 subjects were students from two secondary schools in Utrecht. Nineteen students were integrated into the Dutch school system and attended a school for MAVO and nineteen attended the ISK

('international linking classes'), which is a transitional type of education for children of immigrants (cf. section 2.5.2). The next sections will present some of the demographic information gathered on the subjects.

1.2.3.1 Sex

The AMMU group consisted of male participants only. Of the student participants, approximately 60 percent was male and 40 percent female. The distribution of the number of male and female students per school is shown in Table 1-1.

TABLE 1-1
SUBJECTS

	MAVO		ISK	
	M	F	M	F
Number	10	9	13	6
Percentage	52.6	47.4	68.4	31.6

1.2.3.2 Age

All of the subjects in the study were born in Morocco and had come to the Netherlands through family reunification. As reunifications have been going on for approximately a decade and are expected to continue for a number of years to come, the newly arrived immigrant

children may vary widely in age range. Table 1-2 shows the age ranges of the subjects for all three groups.

The AMMU subjects constituted the highest age group, ranging from 19,8 to 22,11 years, with a mean age of 21,2.⁴ The average age of the ISK students was 17,3, ranging between approximately 12 and 21 years, while the average age of the MAVO students was 16,10, ranging between 13,3 and 20,8.

TABLE 1-2
AGE OF SUBJECTS

Age	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
number of ISK students (n=19)	1			4	4	2	4	1	1	2	
number of MAVO students (n=17)		2	3		2	6	2	1	1		
number of AMMU subjects (n=4)								1	1	1	1
total (n=40)	1	2	3	4	6	8	6	3	3	3	1

The fact that the ISK students, representing a school stage theoretically preceding that of MAVO, were actually slightly older than the MAVO students may appear contradictory, but in view of the immigration patterns it

indicates that they represent more recently reunified families. Nearly all newly arrived immigrant children have to attend ISK education regardless of their age, provided that they are of compulsory school age (cf. section 2.5.2.2). In addition, because of their different educational, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, second generation Moroccans may experience a variety of problems in adapting to their new environment. As a consequence, some students may be integrated relatively quickly into the Dutch school system, while others may have to attend ISK education for a much longer period of time. Moreover, some of the students who are being integrated in the school system may be placed at a relatively low grade level for their age and background.

1.2.3.3 Age at arrival and length of residence

As stated above, none of the subjects had been born in the Netherlands. The MAVO students in the sample represent a group which had been reunified at a slightly earlier stage with their parents and had already made the transition from initial intervention programs into the regular school system. The ISK students, on the other hand, represent the most recently arrived group of immigrant children and are at the initial phases of transition. The participants from the AMMU youth center represented the oldest, most recent group of arrivals in the Netherlands, with a mean age at arrival

of 19,4 years. The average age at arrival for the MAVO students was 12,2, with a range between 2 and 18 years, while the average age at arrival for the ISK students was 16,2, with a range of 13 to 21 years. Table 1-3 shows the age at arrival for ISK, MAVO, and AMMU subjects respectively.

TABLE 1-3
AGE AT ARRIVAL

Age	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
number of ISK students (n=19)					1 ⁵							3	2	3	2	3	3		1	1
of MAVO students 1 (n=16)						1	2		2		2	2	2	1	1	1	1			
number of AMMU subjects (n=4)																1	1		2	
total (n=39)	1				1	1	2		2		2	5	4	4	3	5	5		3	1

Table 1-4 shows the length of residence of MAVO students and indicates the distribution of the students per year of residence. The MAVO students had stayed in the Netherlands for an average of 5 years and 2 months, although the range was rather wide, from 1 to 15 years. Almost half

of the students had been in the country for less than three years. The overwhelming majority of the students had lived in Holland for less than seven years, and only three of the students had been there for ten years or more.

TABLE 1-4
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF MAVO STUDENTS

Length of stay in years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Number of students (n=17)	3	2	4		3		2			1	1				1

The group of AMMU subjects had been in the Netherlands for an average of 2,9 years, ranging from 1,2 to 6,0 years. Four of the five subjects had a length of residence of two years or less. In terms of age at arrival and length of residence, these subjects constituted the oldest group among the recent arrivals of the second generation. Table 1-5 summarizes their length of residence.

TABLE 1-5
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF AMMU SUBJECTS

Length of stay in years	1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of subjects (n=5)	2	2				1

The average length of stay of the ISK students was, as could be expected, much shorter than that of the MAVO students. With the exception of one student, all of the ISK students had been in the Netherlands for less than 2 years, with an average of 1,1 year, ranging between 5 months and 2 years.^{5,6} Table 1-6 shows the length of stay of ISK students in increments of 6 months.

TABLE 1-6
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF ISK STUDENTS

Length of stay in months	0-6	7-12	13-18	19-24
Number of ISK students (n=18)	2	8	3	5

Generally, the students attend transitional education for a period of time which varies depending on their circumstances and abilities, at the end of which they take a diagnostic examination which helps determine in which school type and at what grade level they can be fitted in. For example, some of the MAVO students who had been in the Netherlands for less than three years had apparently moved from transitional education into regular education rather rapidly in comparison to some of the ISK students who had remained at the school for approximately two years. Not all

the children are able to make an easy transition, however. A number of the children, for instance, may be too old to be placed in primary education but not ready for secondary education because either their language skills are not developed enough or they do not have an educational background sufficient to allow them to adapt to the Dutch schools. Other students may be too old to be admitted to Dutch schools and therefore remain at the ISK as long as possible so that they can develop their language skills. Some students who have excellent educational backgrounds find themselves placed in a school level far below their ability, such as vocational-technical education or non-college preparatory high schools, because they tend to be judged on the basis of their language skills rather than their general educational levels.

1.2.3.4 Geographic origin

The majority of the families came from the northern part of Morocco, particularly from the area around Nador (nearly 40% of all subjects). Sixty percent of the subjects came from rural areas, while forty percent was of urban origin, which corresponds closely to Shadid's (1979: 151) findings. The subjects who reported an urban background came mainly from the following cities in Morocco: Oujda (3), Tetouan (3), Tanger in the north (2), Meknes (2) and Taza (1) in the center, Casablanca on the coast (1), and

Marrakech in the south (1). The following table shows the geographic origin of the subjects by general region.⁷

TABLE 1-7
GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF SUBJECTS

Region	Number	Percentage
North	27	72.98
Center	5	13.52
East	3	8.1
Coast	1	2.7
South	1	2.7
	37 ⁸	100

1.2.3.5 Parents' occupations

The socio-economic position of the foreign workers in the European host countries will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The first generation, which consisted largely of men, generally occupied unskilled positions in the labor market and held the most undesirable jobs in the societies that employed them (cf. Muus, 1986: 112ff.). The parents of the students interviewed for this study conformed to those patterns, as most of the fathers were factory laborers or had other unskilled work. None of the mothers were employed outside the home, although one of the mothers had been a photographer before her marriage. One of the mothers was

not living in Holland, but remained in Algeria, as the father had married a Dutch woman in addition to his first wife.⁹ The fathers' occupations are shown in Table 1-8.

TABLE 1-8
FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Number	Percentage
laborer	17	42.5
unemployed	11	27.5
printer	3	7.5
waiter	2	5.0
cook	2	5.0
WAO ¹⁰	2	5.0
painter	1	2.5
bookbinder	1	2.5
baker	1	2.5
	40	100

The high level of unemployment (27.5%) noted among the fathers corresponds to that observed among the immigrants in general. Muus (1986: 115) cites an unemployment figure of 37.2% for Moroccans in 1983. Furthermore, though exact figures have not yet been established at this time, he also refers to an expected increase in the percentage of Turkish

and Moroccan workers who will be eligible for disability (WAO) benefits.

1.2.3.6 Family size

The average family size of particularly Moroccan immigrants tends to be very large in comparison with Dutch families and to other groups of immigrant (cf. v.d. Berg-Eldering, 1983: 15; Shadid, 1979: 160). In this study, the average number of siblings reported by the subjects was more than 5 per family, and there were two very large families with 10 and 13 siblings, respectively. Table 1-9 shows the total number of children per family, including the students.

TABLE 1-9
FAMILY SIZE

Number of children	Frequency	Percentage
3	2	4.87
4	3	7.31
5	6	14.63
6	16	39.02
7	5	12.19
8	4	9.75
9	3	7.31
10 or more	2	4.87
	41	100

The total number of siblings per family may in actuality be even larger than reported here, as several of the subjects commented during the interviews that they had additional brothers or sisters (usually married) who had remained in Morocco.

1.2.4 Data Analysis

The speech data used for this study consist of approximately 10 hours of tape-recorded interviews with MAVO and ISK students and approximately 90 minutes of group discussion with the AMMU youth group. Orthographic transcriptions were made of all the speech events and included notations for interruptions, simultaneous speech, and code-switching episodes. Specific examples from the texts used in this study have been translated as literally as possible from Dutch into English.

The student interview data will be discussed in Chapter Four, while Chapter Five will focus on the more complex interaction of the Moroccan youth group. The analysis of both sets of data combines a quantitative approach with a more descriptive methodology. The quantitative analysis takes into account a number of conversational parameters such as number of words, number of turns, mean length of turn (MLT), etc. and relates these to sociolinguistic factors. In addition, specific discourse strategies such as control, turn-taking, repetition, etc., are discussed in

relation to both the specific context of the speech situation and the general context of intercultural communication.

1.3 Summary

The present chapter has provided a rationale for studying the speech behavior of adolescent and young adult Moroccan immigrants. The use of Dutch by the older second generation immigrants has not yet been discussed in any detail, even though their sociolinguistic situation appears more complex than that of the primary school-aged children or of the adult immigrants. Chapter Two will evaluate the history of the European labor migrations and relate the problems of the second generation to current policy issues. Chapter Three will present a theoretical framework for analysis and will review the relevant literature in the areas of sociolinguistics, conversational analysis and second language acquisition. Discourse aspects of second language acquisition will be discussed in Chapter Four. Specifically, the conversational strategies of secondary school-aged Moroccan immigrants will be correlated with a number of sociolinguistic variables. Chapter Five will focus on one extended conversation by young adult Moroccan speakers of Dutch. A detailed analysis will be presented of the conversational strategies employed in an intercultural setting. The final chapter will summarize the implications

of the research findings with respect to the areas discussed in the above chapters.

1.4 Notes

¹ Chapter Three reviews the literature in the areas of sociolinguistics and conversational analysis and section 3.2 in particular attempts to clarify the often conflicting use of terminology in these fields.

² In a similar manner, Wolfram (1974) employs the term second generation to refer to children who were either born in the U.S. or arrived during childhood and whose parents came to the United States as adults.

³ The questionnaire was changed from

Item 6. Which school are you attending? _____
Which grade? _____

to an item including the following options

Item 6a. Which school are you attending and which grade are you in? _____

b. Are you employed? Where? _____

⁴ An abbreviated code will be followed throughout this study to indicate year and month respectively; thus, 19,8 should be read as 19 years and 8 months; 22,11 as 22 years and 11 months, etc.

⁵ Subject Ii did not technically belong in an ISK, as he had resided in the Netherlands off and on for approximately six years and had attended primary education there. He had apparently been placed in the ISK for disciplinary reasons because he had had some behavioral problems in primary school. He stated during the interview that he had attended Dutch primary school for about three or four years and had been at the ISK for one year. In order to reflect the length of residence of the ISK group more accurately, this student will not be counted in Table 1-5.

⁶ If subject Ii's residence would be calculated into this figure, the average LOR for the ISK students would be 1,4 year.

⁷ The geographic division follows that of Shadid (1979: 151).

8 The following six subjects were not calculated into the percentages: one subject came from Algeria; one subject was from Melilla, which is a Spanish colony in the North of Morocco; two subjects came from small villages the locations of which could not be identified; and two subjects did not fill out the information.

9 Dutch law permits Muslim immigrants to be married to more than one wife provided that only one wife resides in the Netherlands with the husband.

10 The WAO ('Wet op Arbeidsongeschiktheid') is a Dutch disability law which enables workers to retire early for health reasons.

CHAPTER TWO
EUROPEAN LABOR MIGRATIONS:
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND POLICY ISSUES

2.1 Introduction

In order to provide a socio-historical context to this study, the present chapter will trace the history of the European labor migrations from its start in the early 1950s and 1960s to the more recent developments of family reunifications and the problems of the second generation. Specifically the situation of Moroccan immigrants and their children in the Netherlands will be addressed and, furthermore, this chapter will attempt to assess the implications of government policies concerning the cultural integration of the second generation. In addition, a number of models employed in Europe concerning specific issues such as second language acquisition, native language and culture teaching and intercultural education, will be evaluated as to their relative merits and shortcomings. Finally, the development of educational policy formulation for cultural minorities in the Netherlands will be described and, where appropriate, a critical assessment of the different approaches will be included.

2.2 History of Labor Migrations

European labor migration from the economically less developed Mediterranean and North African countries to the industrialized countries in Northern and Western Europe first started in the early 1950s. The sending countries involved were Greece, Portugal, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Finland, while France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden functioned as host countries. These large-scale migrations were initially caused by gaps in the labor markets of the host countries, for, as Rogers (1985:3) states,

the European host countries needed additional labor and assumed that they could reap the economic benefits from the employment of foreign workers while at the same time keeping the social, cultural, and political consequences of the presence of these foreign populations within their borders to a minimum.

The assumptions behind these migrations were that both the sending and receiving countries, and the individual migrants themselves would benefit equally from this arrangement (cf. v. Amersfoort, 1982: 184ff.). The host countries would be able to temporarily supplement their labor force and, in addition, use the guest workers to perform those jobs perceived as unacceptable or unpleasant by the indigenous labor force. Unemployment in the sending countries would be alleviated and, ideally, the workers would eventually return to their countries of origin having

gained useful training and experience. Finally, the migrants themselves would benefit from working in the host countries by receiving high salaries and training opportunities not available in their home countries. In reality, however, the development of labor migration turned out to be entirely different. Both Shadid (1979: 22) and van Amersfoort (1982: 187-88) refer to Albeda's (1970: 635) analysis of four phases of development in the European labor migrations: (1) Laborers are temporarily used to relieve certain problems in the labor market; (2) they are permanently engaged in jobs that the nationals experience as unpleasant, inferior, or insecure; (3) they perform in principle all unskilled jobs; (4) they perform all manual labor in a developed economy. The various host countries, then, move through the subsequent phases at a different pace, according to their particular foreign worker situations. Shadid (1979: 22) suggests, for instance, that Switzerland had at that point reached the fourth phase, France and Germany had passed the second, and the Netherlands was about to enter the second phase. In all probability, the Netherlands has by now moved through one or more further phases.

2.2.1 Foreign Workers in Western Europe

Despite the earlier predictions, European labor migration turned out not to be a transitory phenomenon, as

settlement gradually took on a more permanent character. Though return migration did occur, an increasing number of guest laborers had become long-term residents by the early 1970's. A number of factors may have contributed to the permanent settlement of the guest workers in their host countries. Van Amersfoort (1982: 190) points out that the immigrants encountered many logistical problems when they tried to reintegrate into their home countries. More important, however, was the change in expectations, needs, and ambitions on the part of the immigrants, which often rendered the standard of living in their own countries unacceptable in their eyes. Furthermore, the host countries had facilitated family reunification and frequently extended permanent resident status to workers and their families, making it attractive for them to stay (cf. also Rogers, 1985: 16ff.).

Rogers (1985: 19ff.) addresses a number of problems that European countries must face now as a consequence of permanent settlement of the foreign workers. Issues that must be raised are, for instance, the economic roles of the migrants, the legal status of immigrant families, the economic situations of the sending countries, and, most importantly, the problems of the second generation. Specifically, attention must be paid to problems of education, maintenance of immigrants' native language and

culture, the occupational future of the second generation, and other related issues.

2.2.2 Immigration in the Netherlands

Developments in the Netherlands followed those of the other Western European countries, as the Dutch labor market felt the need for recruitment of foreign workers approximately a decade later than the other countries of the European community (van der Staay, 1971: 195). From the early 1960's onwards, the Netherlands began to encourage labor migrations at first primarily from Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece, but later especially from Turkey and Morocco (cf. van Amersfoort, 1982; Entzinger, 1986).

According to van Amersfoort (1986: 24), the percentage of foreign workers of Mediterranean origin in the Netherlands could be estimated at 47 for Turks and 30 for Moroccans. Entzinger (1986: 47) quotes the total number of Turks as 152.200 in 1983 and of Moroccans as 100.500. The Social and Cultural Planning Bureau (SCP) population prognosis, which includes a variety of factors such as immigration and return migration, family reunification, and natural population growth, estimates the maximum number of Turkish workers at 196.000 and Moroccans at 149.000 by the year 1992 (cf. van Praag and Kool, 1982: 32).

As mentioned above, despite earlier predictions, these immigrations turned out to be a permanent phenomenon, and in

the Netherlands, as in the other countries, the status of the "guest laborers" gradually changed into that of "immigrants." Dutch law stipulates that immigrants, after an uninterrupted stay of at least five years, are entitled to permanent residence status, which, naturally, contributed significantly to settlement (cf. Entzinger, 1986: 49). Permanent residence on the part of the foreign laborers, in turn, led to an increase in family reunifications in the host country. Van Amersfoort (1982: 193) suggests that family reunifications may have started as early as 1971, and Entzinger (1986: 50) remarks that after the oil embargo of 1973 recruitment of new workers virtually ceased, while family reunifications gradually increased.

2.3 The Netherlands: Policy Formulation

The initial position of the Dutch government concerning its policies regarding Mediterranean immigrants can be characterized by two potentially contradictory principles: 1) the belief in the temporary character of labor migration and 2) the ideology of the western welfare state (cf. Entzinger, 1986: 48; van Amersfoort, 1986: 22). This last principle, according to Entzinger (1986: 48), guarantees a "humane" existence to all residents of the Netherlands "regardless of their nationality or the duration of their stay, and therefore also to (legally present) immigrants, even if their stay is meant as temporary only" [tr.].

The government long refused to accept viewing the Netherlands as an immigration country and this "temporariness principle" remained in force until the late 1970's, as evidenced by a number of government and government-related reports published during that time. The 1971 Government Report on Foreign Workers, for instance, states twice that "the Netherlands is not a land of immigration" (cf. van Amersfoort, 1982: 197). Van der Staay (1971) also repeatedly refers to the fact that the majority of the foreign workers in the Netherlands take part in Dutch society as temporary residents with no particular commitments to that society. Characteristic of this view is his use of the term "international commuter," which implies a relationship between foreign worker and host country based on (temporary) economic ties only.

A major change in government policy was realized through the 1979 publication of the report Ethnic Minorities by the Scientific Council for Government Policy, which advised the government to abandon the temporariness principle and suggested the development of a comprehensive policy on minorities for the various immigrant groups (cf. Entzinger, 1986: 51 ff.). Both recommendations were subsequently adopted by the Dutch government.

2.3.1 Cultural Minorities: General Observations

The first formulation of such a comprehensive minority policy was published in the government report Ontwerp-Minderhedennota ('draft for minority bill'). The principal aim of the policy as stated in this bill was "the realization of a society in which the members of minority groups who reside in the Netherlands each separately and as a group are entitled to equal opportunities" (cf. Entzinger, 1986: 55). In concrete terms, from a legal perspective the policy ensured equal rights to minorities with respect to, for instance, housing and employment. Moreover, the right to maintenance of native culture and education on the part of the immigrants was also asserted. The definitive Minority Bill was adopted in 1983 and, according to Entzinger (1986: 58), reflects a government policy directed toward integration rather than assimilation. In addition to this bill, the Ministry of Education formulated a policy with regard to cultural minorities in the educational system in 1981, which will be discussed in more detail below (cf. section 2.5.2).

2.3.2 Moroccan Immigrants

While Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands came from practically all provinces in Turkey, immigration from Morocco had, to some extent, a more specific character.

Although Shadid's (1979) study shows that all regions of the country are represented in the migration, the northern region appeared to dominate emigration patterns. Shadid (1979: 151) provides the following table of provinces from which a majority of the Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands originates:

North: Tanger, Tetouan and Al Hoceima, Nador

Coast: Rabat, Casablanca, El Jadida, Kenitra

South: Marrakech, Agadir, Ouarzazate

Centre: Taza, Fez, Meknes

East: Oujda

His study showed that 38.6% of the immigrants came from the northern area and he further ranked the provinces in order of percentage of immigrants supplied to the Netherlands as follows: Nador (20%), Al Hoceima and Tetouan (13.9%), Oujda (9.3%), Casablanca (7.9%) and Ouarzazate (6.8%) (Shadid, 1979: 151).

Van Amersfoort (1982: 195; 1986: 27) agrees with Shadid that the northern area appears to have contributed most to emigration to the Netherlands. He observes, for instance, that

it is principally the isolated, rural area in the Eastern Riff that provides migrant labor for the Netherlands. Even by Moroccan standards these people have a low level of education (half of the Moroccans in the Netherlands are illiterate) and they are closely bound to the traditional rural culture in which family and village play the central role.

(van Amersfoort, 1982: 195)

As mentioned earlier, many immigrants from this area come from the provinces of Nador and Al Hoceima, which is an area of Morocco that belonged to Spain rather than France during the colonial period. A great number of the inhabitants of this area speak a Berber language, and, though the younger men generally are able to read, speak and write Arabic, the older men and most of the women are illiterate as Berber is not a written language (cf. van Amersfoort, 1986: 27ff.). Shadid's (1979: 161) findings correspond to these observations, as 45% of his respondents had no school education and were generally illiterate. He warns, however, that his figures deviate somewhat from the figures quoted for the Moroccan population in general and he refers to the figures obtained by van Amersfoort and van der Wusten (1975: 20) which indicate a 65% illiteracy rate among the male population between 25 and 34 years of age. Talmoudi (1984: 29) reports a 1971 illiteracy rate for the rural population of Morocco of 78.1% for males and 98.7% for females. Comparatively speaking, then, the foreign workers in the Netherlands have more school education than the rest of the Moroccan population.

Shadid (1979: 155) furthermore found that the majority (71.8%) of the respondents in his study were younger than 39 years of age, which he explained as the most active age period for people to be able to carry out the hard physical labor in the industrialized countries to which the Moroccans

emigrate. Most of his respondents were married, with a majority of the wives remaining in Morocco (cf. Shadid, 1979: 156ff.). Shadid's study also showed a positive correlation between reunion with wife and children and school attendance or educational level of the respondents. The higher the educational level, the greater the chance of family reunion. Moreover, he showed that "respondents originating from urban regions show more family reunion than those of rural regions" (Shadid, 1979: 159).

2.4 The Second Generation

As Rogers (1985: 22ff.) observes, one of the most pressing issues facing the host countries at the present time is the situation of the second generation. Problems that require immediate attention include their occupational prospects, their legal and political status, and their roles in the educational system. Because the immigrations to France began somewhat earlier than those to the other European countries, France has experienced the entire development of the second generation, which is just now beginning in the other countries. Zehraoui's (1976) study of second generation Algerians shows some remarkable differences between the first and second generation. Most of the younger immigrants no longer subscribe to their parents' moral and religious values, but appear quite European in their outlook. Returning to their home country

is no longer considered a viable option, for although most of them would like to visit the places where they came from, they prefer the opportunities in the West. Yet although these youths appear largely acculturated to European society, it is interesting to note that some of them express a certain amount of doubt about their status; many second generation immigrants feel in-between two cultures, neither completely French, nor completely Algerian (cf. Zehraoui, 1976: 211ff.).

Many of the immigrant children enter the Western countries at a great disadvantage. As shown above, their parents frequently come from poor, rural areas, and tend to be illiterate, or at least poorly educated by European standards. Furthermore, the parents mostly belong to the lowest socio-economic status groups in Europe, and this, above all, appears to be one of the major causes of the children's poor performance in school. In his study of Swiss second generation immigrants, Hoffmann-Nowotny (1985: 120) concludes that while ethnic discrimination no longer appears to play a significant role in Swiss education, "the observed disadvantages of foreign children today are a consequence only of the fact that they belong overwhelmingly to the lower social strata."

Lebon (1985: 135ff.) investigated the integration of the second generation in France from three perspectives: 1) passage through school; 2) going through a training system;

and 3) participation in the life of the local community. With respect to these factors, he observes that the second generation immigrants either fail completely or achieve only limited success in their schooling, that the nature of their vocational training is both qualitatively and quantitatively inadequate, and that they experience a certain amount of discrimination in seeking employment. He concludes that these problems should be given immediate attention as the fate of the second generation, in his opinion, constitutes "the major problem in migration that will confront French society, today and in the years to come" (cf. Lebon, 1985: 155).

Mehrländer (1985: 181) underscores the same theme in her study of the second generation in Germany, stating that

. . . long-term residence in Germany by the foreign youths does not in itself contribute substantially to increased integration. Instead, factors of greater causal significance are entry into a job or access to occupational training through apprenticeships.

From the above studies, then, it appears that formulation and implementation of comprehensive educational policies, availability of adequate vocational training opportunities, and facilitation of entry into job situations are some of the most crucial factors which might ensure successful integration of second generation immigrants into their host countries.

2.4.1 The Second Generation in the Netherlands

At the present time, the number of second generation immigrants is still expected to grow in the years to come. According to the 1982 report of the Social and Cultural Planning Bureau (SCP), primary and secondary family reunifications are still in progress. Primary reunification is the arrival of the wives and/or children of the foreign workers in the host country, whereas secondary reunification is the arrival of a marriage partner from the home country in the host country (cf. van den Berg-Eldering, 1983: 14; van Praag and Kool, 1982: 19). Approximately two thirds of the Moroccans have not been reunified with their families yet through primary family reunification (van Praag and Kool, 1982: 5). In addition the rapid population growth among immigrants is also expected to contribute to the growth of the second generation. Current estimates assess the growth of the number of school children between 4 and 16 years of age at approximately 100% to 150% by the year 1990 (cf. van den Berg-Eldering, 1983: 15). On the other hand, return migration and a possible decline in the birth rates of foreign workers would to some extent slow down the rate of growth of the second generation.

De Vries (1983: 112) estimates that presently approximately 85% of all Turkish and Moroccan children below 8 years of age were born in the Netherlands, while it is

expected that by the year 1990 all children up to 12 years of age will have been born there. Therefore, Dutch educational policies must be formulated in such a way that they can address the problems of both the newly arrived immigrant children and of the second generation youths who grew up in the Netherlands, and can also deal with the older second generation youths who are no longer of school age, but must learn to participate in Dutch society (cf. de Vries, 1983: 111-112).

2.4.2 Moroccans

Van den Berg-Eldering (1983: 15) points out that by 1990 the group of school-aged Turkish and Moroccan children must be divided into two main categories. The first category will consist of those children who were born in the Netherlands or arrived at a very early age, while the second consists of those children of secondary school age who generally will have arrived in the Netherlands some time during their primary school years. A large number of Moroccan children in particular in this last group, according to van den Berg-Eldering (1983: 16), has not had any education at all in their own country.

Besides the two groups of school age children, a large number of youths between the ages of 15 and 24 will still be arriving; van den Berg-Eldering (1983: 16) estimates their number at approximately 40.000. They have exceeded the

obligatory full-time school age and therefore do not have easy access to further schooling in the Netherlands.

A recent report by the city of Utrecht, entitled Moroccan and Addicted, shows that specifically Moroccan youths of secondary school age and older suffer from feelings of alienation and, as a "lost generation," become easily addicted to hard drugs. The roots of their problems, according to this study, go back to a fatherless childhood in their home country, while the further developments of the immigration process seem to only have exacerbated the situation. Buurman (1987), in an article in Het Utrechts Nieuwsblad, states that most of the addicts had problems stemming from the reunification of the family in the Netherlands and identifies the four of the main causes of their problems as 1) interruption of their education in Morocco, 2) lack of possibilities for work or education, 3) discrimination, 4) renewed confrontation with strong fatherly authority. As mentioned above, solutions must extend beyond the educational problems of the second generation proper and must incorporate the needs of the intermediate, "lost," generation.

At first glance, several parallels appear to exist between the problems of the Moroccan youths in the Netherlands described above and those of the Algerians second generation in France discussed in Zehraoui's (1976) study (cf. section 2.4 above). Both the Algerians and the

Moroccans express feelings of not fully belonging to either the culture from which they came or the culture in which they must live, and both experience many problems as a result of this in-between status. It must be stressed, however, that in many respects the sources of the problems of French Algerians and Dutch Moroccans respectively should be distinguished carefully. Even though the Algerians who migrated to France can be considered "guest workers" to some degree, they were to a large extent familiar with the language and culture of France because of the French colonial tradition in North Africa. Therefore, their problems may stem partially from international migration, but the after-effect of colonialization may also have brought with it an entirely different set of problems. Moroccans in the Netherlands, on the other hand, could not rely on at least some form of shared history with their guest country, and therefore they had to adapt to a totally unfamiliar culture, which was very different from their own. Moreover, they had to learn a language they had never been in contact with before and which was not even remotely related to their native Arabic or Berber language. This difference, then, between these groups of migrants has implications with respect to both problems of cultural adaptation and integration and questions of education and second language acquisition. It seems obvious that the situation in France would require a different approach than

the situation in the Netherlands or other Northern European countries.

2.5 Second Language Acquisition and Educational Issues

In the Western European countries faced with the problems of foreign worker immigration no consensus has been reached yet with respect to the formulation or implementation of educational policies. Approaches to the educational problems of the immigrant children not only vary from country to country, but tend to differ greatly within the various provinces or districts in each country as well.

2.5.1 The Education of Immigrant Children in Europe

Of the European countries, Sweden has frequently been considered to be the most successful in dealing with the immigrant situation. Though a single successful policy has not yet been identified, a number of possible solutions have been forwarded. Ekstrand (1983: 142) identifies four major types of educational policies that have been tested in Sweden:

1. Mainstream education without home language instruction.
2. Mainstream education with continuous home language instruction, throughout the primary and secondary school.
3. Bilingual/bicultural education.
4. Monolingual mother tongue classes.

In view of the relatively unstable situation of many of the foreign laborers in Western Europe, the first solution may not be satisfactory for all immigrant children. Though a large percentage of immigrants has settled permanently in the host countries, many of them prefer, in theory at least, to leave open the option of an eventual return home. Education in the host language alone, then, would leave the children of this segment of the immigrant population totally unprepared for a possible reintegration into their own societies. Secondly, such a form of instruction ignores the cultural and ethnic identity of the immigrant children. It is aimed at eradicating the mother tongue and home culture in favor of the language and culture of the host society.

The disadvantage of the second approach, mainstream education with continuous home language instruction, is that it clearly establishes a dominance pattern of the host language over the immigrant language. In this situation, the immigrants' native language becomes reduced to the status of a foreign language, subordinate to that of the host culture. Moreover, home language instruction alone would not appear sufficient for maintaining immigrants' native culture, as many other aspects of culture, such as religion, values, etc., would need to be taught as well.

The bilingual/bicultural approach has often been regarded as the most equitable type of solution, as it offers integration into the host society on the one hand and

maintenance of the native language and culture on the other. In practice, however, many problems can, and do, surface. Rogers (1985: 23), for instance, points out that such a dual option, educating children simultaneously toward staying in the host country and toward returning home, is not realistic. Similarly, Hoffman-Nowotny (1985: 126) observes that immigrant organizations tend to object to this policy and prefer mother tongue instruction alone, as "they fear an alienation of the children from their own language and culture." In addition, Mehrländer (1985: 168) found that the dual approach often led to the children being "functionally, illiterate in two languages," as they became uncertain of where they belonged and what they should learn. If not carefully applied, then, the bicultural option may lead to a double disadvantage for minority children.

In the United States, objections have been raised to the bicultural/bidialectal approach on the grounds that it forces minority children to learn the language of the dominant culture in addition to their own and thus presents the dominant culture as the standard. In Sweden, similar views were held by proponents of monolingual mother tongue education for immigrant children, who argued that forced assimilation caused many of the immigrant problems (cf. Ekstrand, 1983: 146). However, in view of the fact that a large number of the immigrants must be considered to have permanently settled in the host countries, some form of

linguistic and cultural integration must realistically be anticipated in order to ensure the educational and occupational future of the second generation.

An obvious solution to the educational dilemma of the immigrants in Europe does not exist. The most reasonable solution appears to be the intercultural model, which is currently being explored in Europe (cf. sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.4). Past experiences in the various countries, however, have indicated a number of shortcomings of previous approaches which should be avoided in other applications. The German experiment, for instance, showed that the immigrant children often received complementary training in their mother tongue during school hours, at the expense of some of their other subjects (cf. Mehrländer, 1985: 168). Van Amersfoort (1982: 203) states that in the Netherlands supplementary native culture education was sometimes taught by teachers from the countries of origin and was often nationalistic or ideologically colored, and gave a distorted picture of life in the home country. The Swiss approach appears to have attempted to integrate the children too rapidly into the host society, which resulted too quickly in mainstreaming education alone (cf. Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1985: 126ff.).

2.5.2 Educational Integration in the Netherlands

In 1974, the Ministry of Education published its report entitled Policy Formulation for Education to Groups from Disadvantaged Backgrounds, in which the problem of education of immigrant children was first addressed as it appeared to run parallel with the situation of children from lower class environments. At the same time, however, the report stresses the differences between the two situations in that particularly the problems of language, culture, and religion of the immigrant children must be addressed as a totally separate issue. In view of the "temporariness principle" espoused at that time, especially the uncertain role of the immigrants played an important role in the formulation of guidelines for educational policies. The policy, therefore, made a distinction between children who would "stay in the Netherlands for just a few years and those who would stay longer" (cf. Ministry of Education, 1974: 4). While both groups were to receive bicultural education, the emphasis would be different. The first group was to be integrated into the Dutch educational system, while the second group would receive primarily native language and culture education. In general, the statement in the Ministry's report (1974: 35) concludes, "an integrational policy will be conducted except for those groups that will stay in the Netherlands for only a few years" [tr.].

From 1974 onwards, education in native language and culture was instituted for immigrant children, which "both in content and in pedagogic-didactic approach was adapted to the educational system of the native country" (cf. v.d. Berg-Eldering, 1986: 179 [tr.]). Education in the Dutch language was provided by specially appointed teachers, who, however, generally were not trained in teaching Dutch as a second language.

According to v.d. Berg-Eldering (1986: 180), the dual approach of the educational policies was widely criticized towards the end of the 1970's and suggestions were made for a more integrated approach. The report Ethnic Minorities by the Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (the WRR, or 'Scientific Council for Government Policy'), which had been crucial in changing attitudes on general minority policies in the Netherlands (cf. section 2.3), also contributed much to the changes in educational policies for immigrant children.

The 1981 report Policy Formulation concerning Cultural Minorities in the Educational System by the Ministry of Education largely followed the WRR's recommendations with regard to abandoning the temporariness principle and developing an integrated minority policy. Its two main aims are formulated as follows:

1. Education must prepare members of minority groups to function and participate fully in Dutch society both socially, economically, and democratically,

and must provide them with the opportunities to do so, with the possibility to accomplish this from their own cultural background;

2. Education must, among other things through intercultural education, encourage acculturation of minorities and other members of Dutch society. Acculturation is here understood to be a double- or multi-faceted process of becoming acquainted with, accepting and respecting each other's culture or elements thereof, and approaching it openmindedly.

(cf. Ministry of Education, 1981: 6; [tr.])

In order to implement these policies, the government proposes to address four main issues: a. the initial contact situation at arrival; b. problems of children with disadvantaged backgrounds; c. native language and culture teaching; d. intercultural education (cf. Ministry of Education, 1981: 6; v.d. Berg-Eldering, 1986: 181).

The first issue, initial intervention at arrival, according to the Ministry's report (1981: 7), deals primarily with Dutch as a second language, a general orientation on Dutch society, and participation in the (future) school environment. For students between 12 and 16 years of age, a specific form of transitional education, the Internationale Schakelklassen (ISK, or 'international linking classes'), were developed to provide a type of education to bridge the gap between the students' own backgrounds and the Dutch school system. The main aim of the ISK is to integrate the students into the regular types of education as soon as possible (cf. section 2.5.2.1).

Concerning the second issue, i.e. the position of students from disadvantaged backgrounds, the Ministry of Education (1981: 10) lists a number of factors which may be of influence on the educational development of minority children:

1. low socioeconomic status of the parents;
2. sub-standard housing conditions;
3. lack of education of the parents;
4. language differences;
5. discrepancies between the norm and value system at home and at school.

Van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 183-4) warns, however, that one should beware of drawing such parallels between children from lower class backgrounds and immigrant children, as the uniqueness of the situation of cultural minorities must be recognized and its specific problems must be properly addressed. Furthermore, the immigrant problem is too recent to allow accurate predictions with regard to the future socio-economic stratification of the various immigrant groups.

The third issue, native language and culture education has gained much importance in recent years. The Ministry of Education's (1981: 8 [tr.]) report provides the following rationale.

This type of education can thus contribute to the development and self-identity and self-awareness of the student. Through better knowledge of and access to the culture of the country of origin, ties with family

members, friends and acquaintances from and in the native country can potentially be maintained. Moreover, it facilitates, to a certain degree, reintegration into the educational system of the native country in case return migration has been decided on.

The brochure Native language and culture education (1985) of the Ministry of Education explains the recent Law for Primary Education, which went into effect on August 1, 1985, and which determines that native language and culture education can be part of the primary school curriculum. Under this law, up to five hours a week can be devoted to native language and culture teaching, of which two and a half hours may maximally be fitted into the regular school schedule. A minimum of eight students per foreign language is necessary for the schools to acquire a foreign teacher for the immigrant children. According to van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 184) a total of 625 foreign teachers was employed during the school year 1982-83, the majority of which were Turks (351) and Moroccans (172).

Van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 185-186) raises the question that, while the main aim of this type of education is the development of a positive self-identity on the part of the immigrant child, the option then remains of which culture should be the point of reference for accomplishing this. The focus could be placed on the role of the immigrant child within Dutch society or on the culture of the parents and the country of origin. The problem with the latter approach is that often the children do not master

their own language sufficiently to be able to understand their instructors' discussions on various cultural topics. According to van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 185), emphasis is gradually shifting toward the first approach. However, she detects two inconsistencies between the government's stated policy goals and their practical realizations. First, as recent suggestions have been made to emphasize native culture teaching within intercultural education, native language and culture education could become reduced to primarily language teaching. It would have been more appropriate then, she states, to have formulated the policy goal as learning the official language of the country of origin and execute it consistently. Second, even though in theory all cultures are considered equal, van den Berg-Eldering counters that this type of education has been made subordinate to Dutch school culture both in content and in educational approach.

The fourth issue, intercultural education, has increased in priority in recent years. In the Ministry of Education's policy formulation it is carefully distinguished from native language and culture teaching, since it is aimed at all students, not just at cultural minorities. According to this policy (Ministry of Education, 1981: 11 [tr.]), students "must become acquainted with the different cultures; they must learn to distinguish both the differences and similarities, with as a main principle the

equality of the cultures." Intercultural education, it states, is aimed at acculturation rather than assimilation. Its main goal, as formulated by van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 187 [tr.]), is " to attain a large degree of cultural sensitivity and cultural relativism among the students" [tr.].

The 1985 Law for Primary Education, mentioned above, in fact requires schools to formulate their curricula in such a way as to provide students with education within a multicultural context. Observing that this is not an easy task, van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 187 [tr.]), cites a number of reasons why intercultural education has been difficult to realize:

- lack of concrete realization of the policy goals for educational practice
- lack of a systematic overview of proper structure, educational tools, and materials
- lack of knowledge of and insight in other cultures on the part of teaching personnel
- inability to recognize and deal with symptoms of stigmatization, discrimination and racism

She observes (1986: 188) that, as yet, intercultural education is a "marginal activity" in the Dutch school system.

2.5.2.1 The Moroccan school system

The current Moroccan school system consists of both traditional Koran education and of a more general type of

education. In the traditional Koran schools, education is provided by a religious teacher, a fqih, at the local mosques. Education consists mainly of learning to read and write Arabic, memorizing the chapters of the Koran, and, at higher levels, specializing in a specific topic, such as theology, Arabic literature, or muslim law.

After its independence in 1956, Morocco instituted a new educational policy intended to 1) unify the educational system, 2) introduce Arabic as the main language in the schools, 3) encourage education by Moroccan teachers only, and 4) make primary education available to everyone (cf. Hermans, 1982: 27-28). According to Hermans (1982: 28-30), the structure of the current system does not allow for any preschool education, but provides obligatory primary education for all children between seven and thirteen years of age. Secondary education consists of a first cycle of four years, followed by a second, more specialized cycle of three years, and after completion of a baccalaureat, it provides access to higher education. Hermans (1982) stresses, however, that despite obligatory education especially girls in rural areas tend to be underrepresented in the primary schools. Furthermore, the lack of vocational opportunities at the secondary school level results in an extremely high dropout rate among those students who cannot keep up in school. Hermans (1982: 31) finds that only one

half percent of the students who started primary education obtain a baccalaureat.

2.5.2.2 The Dutch school system

The constitution of the Netherlands guarantees freedom of education for all and all education is regulated by law. Schooling is compulsory for everyone for a total of eleven school years, eight of which consist of primary education. After the eleventh year of schooling, all children must still attend school for a minimum of two days a week for one more year; this is called 'partial compulsory education' (partiële leerplicht). The 1985 Wet op het Basisonderwijs ('law for primary education') regulates education for children from four through twelve years of age. This new law is interesting in that it shows its adaptation to some of the recent changes in Dutch society, as can be seen from Title 8 (Artikel 8) of the law on primary education:

Primary education must provide an uninterrupted developmental process to students, taking into consideration the development of the individual student (i.e. independent of the progress of other students).

Education is particularly aimed at the development of sensitivity, sensibility, creativity, acquisition of essential knowledge and of social, cultural and physical capabilities.

Education must adopt the principle that the students grow up in a society shared also by people with other languages and cultures.

(Ministry of Education, 1986: 6-1,2; [tr.])

Secondary education is aimed at students from twelve to approximately eighteen years of age. It consists of a rather large number of different types of schooling, with a major division between regular secondary education and vocational education. The Ministry of Education (1986: 9-1) divides the former types into four subcategories:

1. college preparatory education (v.w.o.); e.g. gymnasium and atheneum; duration: 6 years.
2. higher general secondary education (h.a.v.o.); duration: 5 years.
3. intermediate general secondary education (m.a.v.o.); duration: 4 years.
4. lower general secondary education (l.a.v.o.); duration: 2 years.

Vocational education consists of two major subdivisions which each have approximately the same subcategories on different levels:

1. lower vocational education (e.g. technical, nautical, administrative, etc. education); duration: 4 years.
2. intermediate vocational education, which is intended as a continuation of either intermediate general secondary education (m.a.v.o.) or of lower vocational education; duration: up to 4 years.

Finally, higher education consists of two major types: university and higher vocational education (consisting of e.g. schools of business, agriculture, education, etc.).

2.5.2.3 Immigrants in the Dutch school system

From these brief descriptions of both the Dutch and the Moroccan school system it can be seen that the two countries

differ a great deal in educational approach. Brassé and de Vries (1986: 148-149) comment that, in general, the level of education of young Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands is not very high. Three quarters of this group attends lower vocational education, approximately 10% follows intermediate secondary education (m.a.v.o.), and only a handful of youths attend the higher school types such as havo, college preparatory or intermediate vocational education. Brassé and de Vries (1986: 148) attribute this low level of education mainly to a lack of education in the home countries and not so much to the cultural and educational transition these youths experience in moving from one country to another. However, the present study found, in interviews with Moroccans youths who had a higher level of education in their native country, that better educated students experience severe problems stemming from the transition process as they are often judged on the basis of their language skills rather than on their intellectual capacities. Many of the students in this study were attending Dutch schools that, compared to the Moroccan schools they had previously attended, were far below their level of ability, mainly because of insufficient language acquisition in Dutch. Negative stereotyping, then, may play a significant role in the educational accomplishments of immigrant students in the Netherlands and can be compared to what has been termed the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of

teacher expectations in the American context (cf. Seligman, Tucker, and Lambert, 1972; Edwards and Giles, 1984).

2.5.3 Policy and Dutch as a Second Language

Coenen (1979) evaluates the issue of government policy with respect to the teaching of Dutch as a second language to immigrant children. As has been shown above as well, Coenen finds that the "temporariness principle" was largely responsible for the slow start in formulating policies dealing with immigration-related problems. The article criticizes the ad-hoc nature of the provisions with regard to second language teaching in the Dutch school system. Coenen (1979: 161ff) attempts to establish a link between the educational situation, research efforts and policy formulation and argues for increased involvement on the part of linguistic research in outlining the target areas for prospective policies, so that a consistent policy could be established in the area of Dutch as a second language.

The 1981 Policy for cultural minorities in education deals with the issue of Dutch as a second language primarily under the heading of initial language contact situations both within regular educational settings and in transitional education models such as the international linking classes. Beyond the point of first contact the issue does not seem to play any role.

The 1982 advisory note by the ACLO-Moedertaal ('advisory committee on curriculum development--native language') entitled Onderwijs in een Multiculturele en Multi-Etnische Samenleving ('education in a multicultural and multi-ethnic society') criticizes this approach and points out that providing second language education should not be restricted to the initial contact phase of the student. The ACLO (1982: 81) reports that even though many of the students develop communicative competences in Dutch, they often continue to encounter problems both receptively and productively in specific areas of language. The report warns that the danger then exists that students are, erroneously, considered to be able to function within the Dutch school system, which often makes great demands on the cognitive aspects of language (e.g. abstract concepts). In its conclusion, the report formulates a specific recommendation to the Ministry of Education to "expand the opportunities for the teaching of Dutch as a second language in such a way that attention can be given to L2-education during the entire school career of non-native speakers of Dutch" (ACLO, 1982: 113 [tr.]. More recent studies by, for instance, Appel (1984) and Extra and Vallen (1984), confirm the need for further research on the new problem of Dutch as a second language.

2.5.4 Intercultural Education: A European Perspective

In section 2.5.1 some of the earlier approaches to the situation of the immigrant children were discussed. In concluding this chapter, some attention must be given to current thoughts on this problem. As has been shown above, historically, little or no cooperation between the various countries existed in this area and each country attempted to develop its educational and minority policies according to the demands of its specific immigrant situation. As by now Mediterranean immigration has been established as a permanent phenomenon in many of the Western European countries, a next logical step would seem to establish a dialogue among the countries involved concerning possible solutions to the problems they share.

One recent attempt is the 1981 report commissioned by the Council for Cultural Cooperation by the Council of Europe, which addresses the problem of the education of the children of foreign laborers from an international, European perspective. The report focuses on the intercultural dimensions of education and calls for international cooperation in this issue, particularly in the area of teacher-training. The first part of the report explores the theoretical aspects of the concept of interculturalism and illustrates its practical realizations within the various European countries. The second part of the report contains

specific recommendations for international collaboration among the immigrant countries to coordinate their teacher-training programs.

While the report does not claim to provide any definitive solutions to the problems, it attempts to outline a realistic course of action for the countries involved. Porcher (1981: 48) attempts to formulate the ultimate objective, stating that

. . . an original type of education should be worked out, not for the children of migrant workers specifically, but including them necessarily among the target school population. Simultaneously, a teacher-training course suited to the achievements of this goal should be devised -- that is, a course fitting teachers to take account of the different characteristics of their pupils and at the same time offer them conditions of equal opportunity. To be able to handle migrants' children as they are, without treating them as a class apart, that is the aim. No doubt this untrammelled type of teaching will upset certain habits, but the course of history demands it.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has addressed the problems of immigrant policy formulation and the implications for educational practice. It was shown that a major cause for the initial lack of interest in the social, cultural, and political position of the immigrants was the "temporariness principle" which ignored the reality of the immigration problem. Implicit in this principle was the thought that the immigrants had no real need to learn the languages of their respective host countries. The first generation immigrants,

mostly men, were generally engaged in unskilled labor which did not require any particular language skills. Furthermore, it was expected that they would return to their countries, so that even once the families began to reunify in the host countries, no immediate pressing need was perceived to provide comprehensive policies addressing their problems. Only when immigration appeared to have become a permanent phenomenon did the educational problems of particularly the second generation become apparent. Permanent settlement had drastically altered the function of the languages of the host countries, as immigrants became a part of the host societies. Policies were needed to address the often conflicting issues of, on the one hand, acquisition of the host languages and integration into those societies, and, on the other hand, maintenance of the children's native language and culture.

The next chapters will explore some aspects of second language acquisition by Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands and will specifically focus on the acquisition of conversational competence and on the strategies employed in interethnic encounters. While a number of studies have addressed various aspects of language acquisition, specifically problems in morphology or syntax, little or no attention has been paid thus far to the acquisition of conversational competence by immigrants.

As has been shown in this chapter, the sociolinguistic situation of the immigrants is extremely complex. Even though this study is restricted to the second generation of Moroccan immigrants only, it has been pointed out here that this cannot be considered a homogeneous speech community. The second generation ranges from children born in the Netherlands who grow up speaking Dutch, to adolescents who may have resided there for longer or shorter periods of time, to adult or nearly adult Moroccans who joined their parents in Holland through the family reunification process. An analysis, then, of conversations by second generation Moroccans must take into consideration all relevant factors, such as ethnic and linguistic background, age at acquisition, length of stay, etc., and relate them to the social context of the conversational interaction. Only when the complexities of a speech situation such as this one are recognized, can we begin understanding variation in the acquisition of discourse within an interethnic context.

CHAPTER THREE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The study of speech in conversational interactions has received an increasing amount of attention in the last two decades. Researchers in a variety of fields, ranging from sociology and psychology to anthropology and linguistics, have applied their different perspectives to the understanding of verbal behavior. Major contributions to this field of study were made in the early 1970s by ethnomethodologists, such as Sacks, Schegloff, and Goffman, whose work on conversational openings and closings, turn-taking mechanisms, and social interaction has been the basis for much of the later research. Their work was, however, mainly concerned with homogeneous speech communities.

While linguistic research for a long time was primarily concerned with systematic analysis of grammatical forms at the sentence level, more recent studies, for example in the areas of speech act analysis, pragmatics, functional grammar, and sociolinguistics, have begun to pay attention to the interactional aspects of speech. In the last few

years, the field of sociolinguistics has moved beyond correlations of grammatical forms and social variables and has begun to "look for new approaches to the study of conversational processes" (Gumperz, 1982a: 3). Gumperz (1982a: 29) expresses the current concerns of the discipline of sociolinguistics as follows:

There is a need for a sociolinguistic theory which accounts for the communicative functions of linguistic variability and for its relation to the speakers' goals without reference to untestable functionalist assumptions about conformity or nonconformance to closed systems of norms. Since speaking is interacting, such a theory must ultimately draw its basic postulates from what we know about interaction.

A number of different approaches have been directed towards the problems of variability at the discourse level. For example, Labov and Fanshel (1977) and Edmondson (1981) employ speech act analysis in their respective frameworks; Gumperz (1982a and 1982b) is particularly concerned with conversational interaction in an intercultural setting; Tannen (1984) attempts to identify strategies of narrative style in naturally occurring conversation; Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan (1977) as well as Ochs and Schieffelin (1983) investigate various aspects of the acquisition of communicative competence by children; and Hatch (1978) applies a discourse perspective to second language acquisition.

The present chapter will sketch the analytical framework that will be employed in analyzing conversations

with second generation Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands and relate it to the current literature in the field of conversational analysis. The complexity of their specific speech situation poses a number of problems for an analysis of conversational data and requires a multi-faceted approach which takes into account the various factors involved. While such an approach would base its theoretical underpinnings in the recent work in conversational analysis, it would need to address such additional issues as sociolinguistic variation, second language acquisition, and child-adult speech.

The second generation of Moroccan immigrants is, as noted in the previous chapters, by no means a homogeneous speech group. With respect to their ethnic background, for example, the immigrants consist of both Arabic and Berber speakers who may come from either country or city backgrounds. Second, some were reunified with their families very early in life or were born in the Netherlands, for whom Dutch may be regarded as their primary language. On the other extreme are the most recent arrivals who have but the slightest knowledge of Dutch, and, naturally, there is a broad range of levels in-between. Third, the term "second generation" was shown to cover age levels ranging from infants born in the Netherlands to young adults reunified relatively late in life.

The conversational data in this study include the speech of adolescents and young adults nearly all of whom were in the process of acquiring Dutch as a second language. Considerable variation existed with respect to, for instance, their ages, level of education, length of stay, ethnic backgrounds, and language usage. In order to present an adequate analysis of such conversations, the multiple contexts of interethnic communication, second language acquisition, and child (or adolescent) versus adult discourse must be recognized. The proposed framework of analysis derives its theoretical concepts from the fields of the ethnography of communication, conversational analysis, sociolinguistics, and second language acquisition.

Analysis of the conversations will consist of several interrelated parts. First, detailed ethnographic observations on the speech event(s) are provided. This includes both the parameters of the specific situation, such as setting, participants, goals, role relationships, etc., and a general overview of the language use by the participants in various contexts. Second, a quantitative analysis is employed in order to capture generalizations concerning the conversational abilities of the subjects and to present the overall structure of speech events through, for example, participants' total contributions, word and turn counts, speech overlap, and progression of the conversation over time. Third, relevant discourse

strategies of the event are analyzed and attention will be paid to interethnic aspects of communication as well. In addition, discourse aspects of second language acquisition and differences in conversation between children (adolescents) and (young) adults will be discussed to explain the variations observed.

3.2 Sociolinguistics and Conversational Interaction

The field of conversational analysis is notably lacking in a consensus on the use of its terminology. Each different approach appears to employ a specific set of terms reflecting its theoretical perspective. The result is that overlapping interpretations may be applied to quite distinct terms or, conversely, similar terms may be used in widely divergent ways. In view of this, it is useful to clarify some of the concepts that will be discussed in this study.

In studies of conversational interactions frequently no distinction appears to be made between the notions of 'discourse' and 'conversation.' Peck (1978: 384), for instance, defines discourse as "the flow and the structure of a conversation or topics within it." Edmondson (1981), however, first distinguishes between written language (text) and spoken language (discourse), and then more carefully defines conversation as "a particular type of multiple-source spoken discourse" (Edmondson, 1981: 6). This study will follow Edmondson's use of terminology in this respect.

However, as this study represents a sociolinguistic perspective and will be primarily concerned with the conversational aspects of discourse analysis, the terms 'discourse' and 'conversation' may at times be used interchangeably, as is done, for instance, by Gumperz (1982a).

The notion of strategy is often employed in the field of discourse analysis. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), for instance, propose a comprehensive model of strategic discourse processing, focusing, above all, on the cognitive processes underlying this. Sociolinguistic studies generally favor a less theoretical, more data-oriented approach, particularly to spoken, as opposed to written, language. As a consequence the terms used in sociolinguistic research do not necessarily imply underlying cognitive processes but may be seen primarily as functional or descriptive. For example, Edmondson (1981: 115) defines a conversational strategy as "the manipulation of interactional structure in conversational behaviour, in the interests of achieving conversational goals." Gumperz (1982a: 35) presents a similar interpretation of conversational strategies:

A speaker oriented approach to conversation [. . .] focuses directly on the strategies that govern the actor's use of lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic and other knowledge in the production and interpretation of messages in context.

Edmondson (1981: 7) makes a distinction between conversational rules and conversational strategies, where the former relate to what people 'know,' or their communicative competence, which is

. . . a theoretical construct, and may be described in sets of rules or conventions which may be said to express what one can do in a conversation . . . ,

whereas the latter represent conversationalists' social competence, which

. . . is reflected in the use to which an individual puts his communicative competence in his conversational behaviour to achieve goals without endangering face - i.e. without offending socially-accepted notions of what is and what is not acceptable behavior.

While it is impossible to provide a simple working definition for the notion of strategy in conversational analysis, the discussions on 'discourse strategies' will follow the general ideas of Gumperz and Edmondson.

Another context in which the idea of strategy plays an important role is that of second language acquisition. Dittmar (1984: 244), for example, refers to the underlying rules applied by the learner, i.e. "those rules which cannot be directly derived from the 'language product'" as strategies. The issue of learner strategies will be explored further in section 3.4 below.

In addition to the notion of 'strategy' the concept of 'competence' has been widely debated in linguistic analysis. Chomsky (1965: 4), claiming that "a grammar of a language purports to be a description of the ideal speaker-hearer's

intrinsic competence," focused on the innateness of language ability as the basic objective of linguistic inquiry. Hymes (1972), on the other hand, reacted against this view and introduced the notion of 'communicative competence.' With this he placed the role of language within the context of social interaction. Examples of the sociolinguistic perspective on communicative competence are, for instance, Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan (1977: 6), who state that

the concept of communicative competence is meant to be broadly descriptive of the knowledge that underlies socially appropriate speech. It includes, in addition to grammatical knowledge, social knowledge, which acts as a constraint on the communicative process, and which shapes the way messages are realized in actual social interaction.

or Gumperz (1982a: 209), who stresses the importance of the context of interaction:

Communicative competence can be defined in interactional terms as 'the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to create and sustain conversational cooperation,' and thus involves both grammar and contextualization.

A different perspective is presented by Canale (1983) who proposes a comprehensive framework for the study of communicative competence, which he defines as "the underlying systems of knowledge and skill required for communication." He distinguishes between four areas of knowledge and skill:

- (1) grammatical competence, which is "the mastery of the language code (verbal or non-verbal);"

- (2) sociolinguistic competence, which includes the mastery of sociocultural rules or "appropriateness of utterances;"
- (3) discourse competence, which is the "mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres;"
- (4) strategic competence, which is the "mastery of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies."

In conversational analysis the term 'discourse competence' is frequently used interchangeably with 'conversational competence.' Scarcella (1983: 175) simply calls this "the ability to participate in conversations," but adds that "underlying this competence are the rules and mechanisms which allow conversations to flow smoothly." Ochs and Schieffelin (1983: xiv) consider conversational competence to consist of the "norms underlying relatively informal verbal interaction." In Canale's framework, on the other hand, the term 'discourse competence' is used in a much more restricted sense to refer to the type of textual cohesion discussed under 3.3.2 below and forms but a small part of his overall definition of communicative competence.

In this study, the terms 'discourse competence' or 'conversational competence' will be employed in the broader, more descriptive sense, represented by, for instance, Gumperz (1982a), Scarcella (1983), or Edmondson's (1981) use of social competence, to refer to the ability to sustain a conversational interaction through the use of discourse strategies.

3.3 Sociolinguistic Aspects of Discourse

The study of language use in conversational interactions must take into consideration complexities of speech at a number of different levels. Above all, an interactional approach must be concerned with the communicative functions of speech. Canale (1983: 3) provides a useful outline for the notion of communication, which, according to his characterization,

- (a) is a form of social interaction, and is therefore normally acquired and used in social interaction;
- (b) involves a high degree of unpredictability and creativity in form and message;
- (c) takes place in discourse and sociocultural contexts which provide constraints on appropriate language use and also clues as to correct interpretations of utterances;
- (d) is carried out under limiting psychological and other conditions such as memory constraints, fatigue and distractions;
- (e) always has a purpose (for example, to establish social relations, to persuade, or to promise);
- (f) involves authentic, as opposed to textbook-contrived language; and
- (g) is judged as successful or not on the basis of actual outcomes.

An analysis of interactional encounters, then, must be capable of explaining the variability of discourse within its social context.

The present study will employ a combination of both a quantitative approach and an analytical approach based on the framework of the ethnography of communication. A number of basic parameters of speech events can be quantified to

allow insight into the structure of interaction and such a quantitative analysis can provide a basic framework for further discussion of the specific strategies employed within the speech event under consideration. This approach is similar to that of Tannen (1984) and derives much of its theoretical base from the work of Gumperz (1982a and 1982b).

3.3.1 Ethnographic Observations

In order to establish the contexts for the conversations analyzed in the following chapters, a brief ethnographic description will be presented for each speech event. The descriptive framework derives primarily from the work of Gumperz and Hymes (1972) and Hymes (1974) on the ethnography of communication, although a number of parameters have been added or changed to fit the specific speech situations under consideration. For example, some language acquisition variables will be discussed in order to clarify the context of language use.

The basic vehicle for description is the notion of speech event, which Hymes (1972: 56) defines as "activities, or aspects of activities that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech." The speech events to be considered here are the interviews and conversations with second-generation Moroccans. First, the speech event as a whole can be evaluated in terms of a number of parameters: (1) setting, i.e. the time and place or, more generally, the

physical circumstances of the speech event; (2) scene, i.e. the "psychological setting," or the "cultural definition of an occasion" (cf. Hymes, 1972: 60), which allows the participants to define their interaction in terms of formality, etc.; (3) duration, i.e. whether an encounter should be regarded as brief or extended, which may be of significance to the level of naturalness that can be achieved in an interaction; (4) goals, or expected outcome of the event according to the varying perspectives of the participants; (5) themes or topics, i.e. what the interaction is about in terms of contents; and (6) the status and role relationships among the participants. Finally, more detailed observations on the participants are necessary for an understanding of the above and will employ the following variables: age, education, ethnic background, length of stay, age at arrival, and language use.

3.3.2 Quantitative Analysis

The interviews obtained for this study will be quantified as a preliminary method of analysis to gain insight in the general structure of the speech events and in the variability of language use among the participants. The Moroccan-Dutch conversations are analyzed in terms of word and turn count, simultaneous speech episodes, percentage of contribution per participant, etc., as such information provides a more precise indication of the progression of a

speech event than impressionistic observations alone. Second, differences between child and adult speakers with respect to, for instance, discourse strategies, can be drawn sharper when they are presented more objectively. Finally, the quantitative data will be used to explain variability of language use from a second-language acquisition perspective, as generalizations can be made on the basis of such relevant sociodemographic variables as length of stay, age, age at arrival, etc.

However, while quantification of data may allow us to see some generalizations that might otherwise be obscured, it alone is not sufficient for a thorough analysis of conversational interactions. As Tannen (1984: 48) points out, "counts of contributions and words can be deceptive . . . , they do not reflect content or interactional purpose or effect." A possible consequence of quantification can be oversimplification of the speech data with the result that the more interesting nuances of a speech situation such as, for instance, intercultural encounters, may be lost. If the limitations of a quantitative approach are recognized, however, it can function as a useful tool within the total analysis.

3.3.3 Discourse Strategies

This section will present an overview of the sociolinguistic aspects of discourse which are most relevant

for the analyses of the data discussed in the next chapters. While some strategies have been found to occur universally, others tend to be culture-specific.¹ An account of intercultural conversations, thus, cannot be restricted to a description of discourse strategies alone, but must explore the context of their occurrence as well.

3.3.3.1 Goals

In any conversational interaction the purposes for starting the encounter are generally of prime significance to its development. In analyzing discourse, therefore, it is useful to understand the motives of the speakers in addition to the structure of the speech event. Bennett (1982: 97), for instance, states that

instead of looking at discourse either as constructed of repeated surface patterns such as adjacency pairs, or as exchange events taking place against a formal set of culturally specific rules, I want to make the assumption that discourse is composed of more or less reasonable and reasoned acts which actors perform on their way toward achieving particular goals.

Hymes (1972: 61) uses the notion purpose in a general sense and proposes a distinction between outcomes, which are "conventionally recognized and expected," and goals, which are "purely situational and personal." He warns that in a description of a speech event the individual motives of the participants should not be confused with what is "customary or culturally appropriate behavior" (cf. Hymes, 1972: 62).

Particularly in interethnic encounters, therefore, it is necessary to view a conversation from both its cultural and its specific context and to distinguish its general, often culturally-determined goals from the individual motives of the participants.

3.3.3.2 Turn-taking

One of the most basic units for analysis of conversational interaction is the turn-taking mechanism, or the interplay of talk between the various participants. A classic study of the turn-taking system is the article by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson which thoroughly explores the systematics of turn-taking. They present the following outline of the basic set of rules which governs turn construction:

(1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevant place of an initial turn-constructive unit:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed so as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructive unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies

at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

(Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974: 704)

Relatedness between pairs of utterances, such as greeting-reply, question-answer, etc., is accounted for in the ethnomethodological model by positing the concept of adjacency pairs.

A basic rule of adjacency pair operation is: given the recognizable production of a first pair part, on its first possible completion its speaker should stop and a next speaker should start and produce a second pair part from the pair type the first is recognizably a member of.

(Sacks and Schegloff, 1973: 239)

Other approaches have employed different terms for such turn combinations, such as 'exchange' or 'interchange,' for example.

Gumperz (e.g. 1982a; 1982b) generally views the issue of turn-taking mechanisms from the somewhat broader perspective of speaker/listener coordination. He alternately calls this 'conversational cooperation' or 'conversational coordination.'

Conversational cooperation is commonly understood to refer to the assumptions that conversationalists must make about each other's contributions and to the conversational principles on which they rely. Cooperation, however, involves not only communication through the use of words in their literal meanings, but construction across time of negotiated and situationally specific conventions for the interpretation of discourse tasks as well as the speaker's and listener's knowledge of how to conduct and interpret live performances.

(Gumperz, 1982b: 17)

Gumperz attaches great importance to the role of contextual factors in interpreting the meanings negotiated in conversational interaction. By this he means that interpretation is not only based on grammatical and lexical knowledge, but on a variety of other factors as well. He explains that

aside from physical setting, participants' personal background knowledge and their attitudes toward each other, sociocultural assumptions concerning status and role relationships as well as social values associated with various message components also play an important role.

(Gumperz, 1982a: 153)

Crucial to Gumperz' understanding of such "situated" or "context-bound process of interpretation is the notion of contextualization cues, which may signal contextual presuppositions in an interaction.

The code, dialect and style switching processes, some of the prosodic phenomena we have discussed as well as choice among lexical and syntactic options, formulaic expressions, conversational openings, closings and sequencing strategies can all have similar contextualization functions.

(Gumperz, 1982a: 131)

Differences in conversational strategies and in contextualization may be particularly problematic for interethnic encounters, as participants would tend to make widely divergent conversational inferences.

3.3.3.3 Cohesion and coherence

The question of how utterances produced by speakers in a conversation are connected in a meaningful way has

received much attention in studies of discourse. Canale (1983), for example, discusses the notions of coherence and cohesion as manifestations of discourse competence, one of the four components of communicative competence in his approach. He defines discourse competence as ". . . mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres" (Canale, 1983: 9). Cohesion, by his definition, "deals with how utterances are linked structurally and facilitates interpretation of a text" and can be accomplished through use of pronouns, synonyms, ellipsis, and conjunctions, for example (cf. Canale, 1983: 9). Though at first glance Halliday's (1985: 288) interpretation appears to be in complete agreement with Canale with regard to the realization of cohesion through (1) reference, (2) ellipsis, (3) conjunction, and (4) lexical organization (e.g. synonyms and word repetition), they differ in one important aspect. Halliday (1985: 288), in contrast to Canale, does not regard this as belonging to structure and defines cohesion as the "nonstructural resources for discourse." His views are assimilated in Edmondson (1981: 5):

Cohesion will be used to indicate those devices by means of which texture is evidenced in a suprasentential stretch of language. . . . Texture is taken to be the sum of those features of a text, distinct from its structure, which make it a text and not a random sequence of sentences.

While cohesion is concerned with form, coherence applies to meaning, according to Canale (1983: 9) who states that "coherence refers to the relationships among the different meanings in a text, where these meanings may be literal meanings, communicative functions, and attitudes." Edmondson (1981: 5) considers coherence to refer to "a well-formed" text or discourse and equates it with its interpretability. He further explains that "interpretability is a matter of possible contextualisation and thus the notion of coherence with regard to a text is to be equated with its possible use as a discourse" (Edmondson, 1981: 14).

The notion of contextualization functions centrally in Gumperz' framework, although he does not emphasize any distinction between cohesion and coherence. Where Edmondson is concerned with the distinction between 'text' and 'discourse,' Gumperz' main focus is on the interactional nature of discourse:

. . . for discourse to be cohesive, speakers must signal and hearers interpret (1) what is the main part of a message and what is subsidiary or qualifying information, (2) what knowledge or attitudes are assumed to be shared, (3) what information is old and what is new, and (4) what is the speaker's point of view and his/her relationship to or degree of involvement in what is being said. In other words, an utterance to be understood must be contextualized.

(Gumperz, Aulakh, and Kaltman, 1982: 28)

Tannen (1984: 152 ff.) refers to the study of coherence as "an aesthetics of conversation" and suggests the following outline for further investigations:

1. rhythm
2. surface linguistic structures (e.g. sound and structural patterns)
3. contextualization
 - a. ellipsis (indirectness in conversation)
 - b. figures of speech
 - c. imagery and detail

In a more recent article, she relates the strategy of repetition to the creation of coherence in discourse, noting that

the varied purposes simultaneously served by repetition can be subsumed under the categories of production, comprehension, connection, and interaction. The congruence of these levels of discourse provides a fourth and over-arching function in the establishment of coherence and interpersonal involvement.

(Tannen, 1987: 581)

Furthermore, Tannen (1987: 599) suggests that it is likely that "degree and type of repetition differ with cultural and individual style." She cites a number of sources which demonstrate cultural differences with respect to repetition and she refers to data that indicate that particularly adolescents are inclined to use the strategy of repetition in conversational interactions. This issue will be further explored in section 5.4.2.

3.3.3.4 Topics

As Richards and Schmidt (1983: 136) point out, "the way topics are selected for discussion within conversation and

the strategies speakers make use of to introduce, develop, or change topics within conversations constitutes an important dimension of conversational organization." However, while it is usually not too difficult to form a general impression of the topics discussed in a conversation or to find out "what the conversation is about," a precise analysis of topic organization, i.e. topic maintenance and shift, is a much more difficult task. Many investigations have dealt with the notion of topic, but the very nature of the concept appears to defy a precise definition. Atkinson and Heritage (1984: 165), in fact, suggest that "'topic' may well prove to be among the most complex conversational phenomena to be investigated and, correspondingly, the most recalcitrant to systematic analysis."

Sacks proposed a two-way distinction of topical movement in conversation between stepwise transition, where one topic flows into another, and boundaried topical movement, where the closure of one topic is followed by the initiation of another (cf. Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: 165). The former, according to Sacks, appears to be more common than the latter:

A general feature for topical organization in conversation is movement from topic to topic, not by a topic-close followed by a topic beginning, but by a stepwise move, which involves linking up whatever is being introduced to what has just been talked about, such that, as far as anybody knows, a new topic has not been started, though we're far from wherever we began.
(Sacks, 1972; in Jefferson, 1984: 198)

Tannen (1984), following Bennett (1978), also employs the term thematic progression for topic maintenance of this kind.

Button and Casey (1984) investigated boundaried topical movement and found that certain sequential environments were favorable to topic initiation. Topic-initiating utterances, or "topic initial elicitors" in their terminology, occur most frequently following opening components, following closing components and following topic-bounding turns. Tannen (1984: 41ff.), however, points out that the question of who raises a topic is often extremely complex in natural conversations. For instance, at times it is not possible at all to attribute a topic to a particular person or, though one participant may have originally raised a topic, others, by expanding on it, may have controlled it. Often it may not be clear where precisely one topic begins and another one ends.

3.3.3.5 Control

The introduction of new topics in conversations has often been considered as a measure of control in interactions. Schegloff (1968), for instance, describes the openings of telephone conversations in terms of rules for summons-answer sequences, which allow the initiator of the conversation to control the topic. Erickson (1976) discusses control in relation to "gatekeeping" encounters,

such as counseling sessions, job interviews, etc., where those in positions of authority maintain conversational control.

The issue of control has been the center of methodological discussions on the problems of the sociolinguistic interview. Labov (1972c: 113) refers to the limitations of the interview situation as the Observer's Paradox: "to obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed." Wolfson (1976: 197) comments that "the degree of solidarity between the participants will affect the verbal behavior of the subject" and argues for naturalistic observations only to avoid the problem of asymmetrical role relationship between interviewer and participant.

An example of the constraints of the interview situation on the speech data is given by Slaughter and Bennett (1982) who note that the conversational strategies of the adult interviewer had a strong impact on children's discourse in both their first and second language. Questioning by the interviewer at times elicited merely 'yes' or 'no' answers by the children with no further reply.

Similar problems did occur in the present study. Conversations with some of the students resulted in rigid question-answer patterns, while other interviews produced more natural speech data. However, rather than dismissing

the interview entirely as a method of observation, this study will present interviews within the context of the total speech situation and as such, interviews will be regarded as speech events. A distinction will be made between planned and unplanned discourse to differentiate structured from spontaneous interviews. Furthermore, through ethnographic observations each interview will be evaluated with respect to the role relationships among the participants. It can be seen that the issue of control varied considerably from one speech event to another.

3.3.3.7 Style

The concept of style defies easy characterization. As Hymes (1972: 57) points out, speech style may be expressed in terms of "statistical frequency of elements already given in linguistic description," but also depends on "qualitative judgments of appropriateness." The former might involve occurrence of specific linguistic or paralinguistic features (e.g. pauses, rate of speech, discourse features), whereas the latter would have to consider the context in which they appear.

Sapir (1927: 903) related style to both personality and to social context and described it as one of five levels of speech behavior as "an everyday facet of speech that characterizes both the social group and the individual." Tannen (1984: 10) expresses a similar position:

Each person's individual style is a combination of features learned in interaction with other (hence, social) plus features developed idiosyncratically. Perhaps the impression of individual style results from the unique combination and deployment of socially learned features.

In addition, Tannen (1982: 230) suggests that ethnicity plays an important role in the development of style; she found that "conversational style is more resistant to change than more apparent marks of ethnicity such as retention of the parents' or grandparents' language."

3.3.3.8 Repairs

A final area which is of interest to the study of discourse organization is that of repairs. As one of the primary functions of conversations is establishing communication, speakers in an interaction must continually check their own and other participants' speech to ensure successful communication of the intended message.

Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) offer a framework for analysis of the notion of repair in conversations, which they employ as distinct from the term 'correction' to reflect its broader domain of occurrence. The notion 'correction' would necessarily imply replacement of a mistake, whereas 'repair' might, for instance, involve cases where there is no hearable error. They further make a distinction between self-repair and other-repair, each of which may be the result of self-initiation or other-

initiation. They found that, overwhelmingly, participants opt for self-correction over other-correction, which led them to conclude that

. . . the organization of repair in conversation provides centrally for self-correction, which can be arrived at by the alternative routes of self-initiation and other-initiation -- routes which are themselves so organized as to favor self-initiated self-repair.

(Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977: 377)

Richards and Schmidt (1983: 148) mention echoing as an additional repair strategy, "whereby the speaker repeats a word or phrase which is not understood and the conversational partner explains it or replaces it with an easier item."

3.4 Acquisition of Conversational Competence by Second Language Learners

Thus far some aspects of conversational analysis have been discussed which can be applied to the study of discourse in intra- or interethnic contexts. The problem of the Moroccan-Dutch immigrants, however, contains the additional dimension of second language acquisition for a vast majority of the second generation. As only a small percentage of the immigrants are as yet acquiring Dutch as a first language, the problem needs to be approached from the perspective of second language acquisition as well as that of intercultural communication.

In recent years, second language acquisition research has begun to consider conversational analysis as a means for

understanding the processes through which second language learners acquire conversational skills. Hatch was one of the first to investigate language acquisition from a discourse perspective. Noting the inadequacies of other approaches, she explains that

it is not enough to look at frequency; the important thing is to look at the corpus as a whole and examine the interactions that take place within conversation to see how that interaction, itself, determines frequency of forms and how it shows language functions evolving.

(Hatch, 1978a: 403)

Hatch (1978a: 423) found, for instance, "that the adult learner has a great deal of difficulty, in the beginning stages of second language acquisition, in identifying topics accurately" and she discovered that adults, once they recognize the topic, have strategies for predicting the discourse on that topic. Both discourse predictability and semantic relationships may be transferred from the first language to maintain conversational flow.

Scarcella (1983: 177) suggests "that the ability to manage conversations in an L2 increases with overall language proficiency" and that "a developmental order exists for the acquisition of the forms of conversational devices." She measured such devices as responses to greetings, introductions, closings, and requests for clarification, and found a positive correlation between conversational skills and level of acquisition. Ekstrand (1976) discovered that though second language acquisition was generally only weakly

related to to length of residence among migrant children, conversational ability ("free oral production" in his terminology) was the only variable showing a strong correlation.

Another perspective on the acquisition of discourse skills by second language learners is provided by the identification of communication strategies. Tarone (1983) suggests that a framework for analysis should include three types of strategies:

- (a) communication strategies, which consist of "a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared;"
- (b) production strategies, which are "an attempt to use one's linguistic system efficiently and clearly, with a minimum of effort;"
- (c) language-learning strategies, which constitute "an attempt to develop linguistic and sociolinguistic competence in the target language."

While no general agreement appears to exist with regard to the notion of 'communication strategy' and while opinions appear to be divided on which strategies must be included minimally in an analysis of learners' conversations, a major distinction can be made between risk-taking strategies and avoidance strategies.

Corder (1983: 17) explains the former, which he terms "resource expansion strategies," as "an attempt [by the language learner] to increase his resources by one means or another in order to realize his communicative intentions." Examples of risk-taking are paraphrase or borrowing, which

includes, for instance, code-switching (cf. Corder, 1983; Tarone, 1983). Risk avoidance strategies (or "message adjustment strategies" according to Corder's (1983: 17) terminology) are employed when the learner attempts to "tailor his message to the resources he has available, that is, adjust his ends to his means." Examples of such behavior are topic avoidance, where the learner refuses to talk about concepts for which he or she has a lack of linguistic resources, or message abandonment, where the learner tries to talk about a concept but has to give up (cf. Corder, 1983; Tarone, 1983).

A related issue is that of self-monitoring of second language learners. Krashen's Monitor model predicts differences in performance between those who subconsciously acquire a second language and those who learn it consciously. Krashen et al. (1982: 173) suggest that "we use conscious learning only as a Monitor, only as an editor to correct our output after it has been initiated by the acquired system." Individual differences may occur as the result of Monitor usage: those who overuse the monitor and are self-conscious about their language performance may display hesitant speech or may attempt to avoid it. On the other extreme are those who underuse the monitor and do not respond to error correction, but whose communicative skills may be quite advanced (cf. Krashen, 1978).

In addition to monitoring, the notions of repair and correction are important to the study of conversational interactions involving second language learners. Gaskill (1980) investigated error correction in native-nonnative conversations and concluded that "other-correction is an infrequent and highly restricted phenomenon", which corresponds to the findings of Schegloff, Sacks, and Jefferson on native speaker conversations (cf. section 4.3.3.7). Schwartz (1980: 151) similarly established that, in conversations between second language learners, participants "gave the speaker of a trouble source repeated chances to repair his own speech," but that repairs were made "when the trouble source involved was a matter of incompetence in syntax, lexicon, or phonology." Varonis and Gass (1985), analyzing miscommunications in native/nonnative conversations, suggest that breakdowns in communication tend to be the result of a lack of common goals, shared "belief space," or cultural and linguistic systems.

3.5 Child Discourse

It has been noted earlier that the subjects in the Moroccan-Dutch study varied widely in age levels, even though all should be considered part of the second generation of immigrants. Although no children of primary school age were included in the study, the youngest subjects were in their early teens, while some of the older

participants were in their early to mid-twenties. Moreover, the length of residence varied considerably, so that some of the subjects had acquired Dutch as a second language quite early in life, while others were nearly adult when they began to learn the language.

These variations pose a number of problems for data analysis, as differences between children and adults have been amply demonstrated in second language acquisition literature. Furthermore, recent sociolinguistic studies have also underscored the differences between child and adult discourse in conversational interaction. In addition, the problem of age is further complicated by conflicting data on adolescent speech behavior. At times, adolescents may be categorized with adults as "older learners," at other times younger children and adolescents are both considered "children," while some studies make a three-way distinction between children, adolescents and adults.

This section will attempt to relate the Dutch conversations to the current concerns in the above outlined areas. The basic questions that will have to be addressed are:

- (1) what differences exist between child and adult discourse in general;
- (2) what differences must be considered between child and adult acquisition of a second language; and

- (3) what implications do such differences have for the analysis of conversational data in a second language acquisition context.

3.5.1 Acquisition of Conversational Competence

While research in the area of children's speech was long restricted to psycholinguistic investigations of developmental aspects of first language acquisition, an increasing number of sociolinguistic studies has begun to address the question of children's conversational abilities. Keenan found, for instance, that young children "engage in meaningful sustained talk-exchanges" (1983a: 4) and "are sensitive to Grice's (1975) maxim 'Be Relevant' and are able to produce utterances that relate to prior utterances at a fairly early point in time" (1983c: 49). Furthermore, she suggests that the function of repetition in children's discourse has generally been underestimated in previous developmental psycholinguistic investigations. Analysis of children's conversations has shown that rather than serving merely an imitative function, repetition may be used by children to meet specific communicative needs, such as "learning to query, comment, confirm, match a claim and counterclaim, answer a question, respond to a demand, and so on" (cf. Keenan, 1983b: 34-5).

The area of ethnography of communication has explored the child's acquisition of communicative competence from the

context of social interaction, as expressed by Hymes (1980: vi):

. . . social life shapes communicative competence and does so from infancy onward. Depending on gender, family, community and religion, children are raised in terms of one configuration of the use and meaning of language rather than another.

Romaine (1984: 159ff.) identifies the family, peer group, and school as the three domains of social interaction which "can be thought of as serving the function of primary discourse-reproducing (and also discourse-creating) agencies." Ervin-Tripp and Mitchell-Kernan (1977), following this tradition, regard communicative competence as the oral culture of the child. The goal of what they term "child sociolinguistics" is to describe and analyze "that knowledge - social and linguistic - that allows the child to use language to project socially appropriate identities and to engage in purposive social acts such as playing, teaching, persuading, and directing others, asking questions, narrating a story, and being a conversational partner" (1977: 6).

Several differences have been noted with respect to the conversational competence of children and adults. Cook-Gumperz (1975; 1977) has suggested the development of sociolinguistic skills in the child's communicative system.

The child judges the social intent or effect of the verbal message, equally by its situated character, the manner and physical setting in which it is performed, as much as by the semantic-syntactic form of the message. We suggest that the possibility of

foregrounding the semantic-syntactic channel, as the dominant and socially recognized carrier of meaning, is a particular communicative skill which develops gradually after the initial acquisition of some semantic-syntactic competency.

(Cook-Gumperz, 1977: 105)

Acquisition of communicative competence, then, is accompanied by a shift from strategies which depend on situated meaning to strategies of lexicalized intent.

Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977: 381) relate repair organization to linguistic competence, and observe that in adult-child interaction other-correction occurs less infrequently than in other types of conversational interactions. They hypothesize that other-correction might be a "transitional usage" and

. . . is not so much an alternative to self-correction in conversation in general, but rather a device for dealing with those who are still learning or being taught to operate with a system which requires, for its routine operation, that they be adequate self-monitors and self-correctors as a condition of competence.

(Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977: 381)

This view, then, would appear to have implications for second language acquisition situations as well and particularly the occurrence of such strategies in intercultural encounters needs to be explored.

3.5.2 Child/Adult Differences in Second Language Acquisition

The issue of the influence of age on second language acquisition has been widely debated for years. Many theories have been forwarded to explain the different

processes by which adults and children acquire second languages. Earlier views held that children had a distinct advantage over adults in language learning because of several developmental factors.

Lenneberg (1967) linked cerebral lateralization to language acquisition and forwarded the "critical period hypothesis" which claimed that language acquisition should optimally occur before the end of the development of cerebral dominance around puberty. The implications of this theory for the field of second language acquisition were that nativelike fluency would be virtually impossible to obtain after this period. Asher and Garcia (1982) investigated the factors influencing pronunciation fidelity and found that in attainment of near-native pronunciation related to the age of the learner (ideally be between 1 and 6 years of age), the length of residence (between 5 and 8 years), and sex (girls were generally better than boys). However, Seliger (1981) notes that exceptions should be taken into account, as there are those who were exposed to a second language in childhood, yet retained foreign accents as adults, and there are those exposed to a second language as adults with no accent at all.

A second view proposes that affective factors may play a role in second language acquisition. Changes in personality and attitudes around puberty may have an effect on, for example, self-confidence and motivation in language

learning. Younger children, who would tend to be less self-conscious, would therefore more easily acquire a second language than older children or adults who are hampered by an "affective filter" (cf. Schumann, 1975; Krashen, 1982).

A third factor which has been cited to account for child/adult differences is that of cognitive development. According to Piaget, after puberty the adolescent is capable of thinking more abstractly, whereas the young child relies on concrete thinking and empirical data (cf. Krashen, 1982). Krashen (1982: 209), for example, posits on the basis of this that adults may be better at language learning (as opposed to subconscious language acquisition) and may also learn a language at a faster rate, whereas children would tend to be better acquirers.

Several recent studies favor a much less strongly formulated critical period hypothesis than that of Lenneberg and suggest that while there are certain differences between children and adults, adults are just as capable of acquiring a second language; several other studies reject the critical period hypothesis as irrelevant in the child/adult debate and point to a number of other problems in second language acquisition.

Krashen et al. (1979) found that adults and older children initially acquire the second language faster than young children, but that child second language learners will

usually be superior in terms of ultimate attainment. They propose three generalizations:

- (1) Adults proceed through early stages of syntactic and morphological development faster than children (where time and exposure are held constant),
- (2) Older children acquire faster than younger children (again, in early stages of syntactic and morphological development where time and exposure are held constant),
- (3) Acquirers who begin natural exposure to second languages during childhood generally achieve higher second language proficiency than those beginning as adults.

(Krashen et al., 1979: 161)

Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1977) came to the similar conclusion that in the short term older learners were superior, while in the long term younger learners had the advantage. Moreover, they found that older subjects tended to be better at vocabulary, syntax, and morphology.

The results of a study by Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978) do not support the critical period hypothesis, as they found that the fastest second language acquisition occurred in subjects aged 12 to 15 years, while the slowest rate of acquisition occurred in subjects aged 3 to 5 years. An even stronger view on this issue is expressed by Snow (1983: 141), who claims

1. that age confers a positive, not a negative, advantage on second language learners.
2. that the age course for speed and ease of second language acquisition is such that notions of brain plasticity, increasing localization, lateralization, and the critical period are totally irrelevant in explaining the age differences.

Ekstrand (1976: 130) similarly notes that "language learning ability improves with age, as does intellectual functioning, while social and emotional adjustment seems to be nonrelated to age."

Such findings have prompted new research to explore the nature of the differences between child and adult second language learners in more detail rather than to focus on adults' presumed deficiencies in acquisition.

3.5.3 Discourse Aspects of Child Second Language Acquisition

While conversational analysis has been employed as a general framework for second language acquisition research, further questions have been raised with respect to the differences between the rules of conversation of children and adults.

Scarcella and Higa (1982: 189ff.) relate conversational competence to input and find that the conversational demands are greater on older second language learners than on adolescents and children and that "in order to cope with these heavy demands for early conversational performance, older learners utilize conversational strategies which allow them to stretch their linguistic competence. . . ."

Fathman and Precup (1983) analyzed the speech of children and adults in formal and informal settings. They found that "in both settings the adults were more hesitant and repeated words and phrases more frequently than

children." The adults were more concerned about the listeners' reactions than the children and also did more monitoring of structural errors. Adults were consequently found to be more proficient in morphology and syntax, while the children excelled in pronunciation. Furthermore, informal learners used a greater variety of communication strategies than formal learners, resulting in "a continuum with child-informal learners at one extreme and adult-formal learners at the other" (Fathman and Precup, 1983: 160).

Hatch (1978a) noted that while there are many similarities in discourse strategies between children and adults, some generalizations can be made with respect to their differences as well. She observed, for instance, that while both children and adults have difficulty in perceiving topics in discourse and in nominating topics for conversation, adults tend to use a much wider range of topics reflecting much more abstract conversational ambitions (Hatch, 1978a: 431). In addition, different input strategies can be observed in adult-child and child-child discourse for the second-language learning child. According to Hatch (1978b: 153),

from the adult he gets notions of how to order extremely controlled sets of question-answer routines based on objects present in the environment and ongoing actions; he gets vocabulary that is visually represented as well; he gets sequenced presentation of structures. From the child he gets, among other things, an immense amount of practice that allows him

to repeat models of the native speaker. The vocabulary is not nearly as tightly controlled, made-up words are frequent.

Peck's (1978: 398) data suggest that the second language learning child "is learning more about the forms of words (phonology and syntax)" from other children, while "he is learning more about the meanings of utterances, and how to express himself (semantics) with the adult."

3.6 Summary

The present chapter has outlined a framework for analysis of a complex speech situation. While it is by no means intended to be comprehensive in scope, it has indicated some aspects of conversational analysis that need to be considered for an understanding of particularly the sociolinguistic situation of second generation Moroccan immigrants. The following chapters will explore several Moroccan-Dutch interactions with respect to second language acquisition and discourse strategies respectively.

3.7 Notes

¹ While much further work is needed in conversational analysis before any definite conclusions can be reached with regard to universal characteristics of discourse strategies, the term 'universal' is used here for those tendencies that at this point appear to have some cross-cultural relevance, cf., for example, Scarcella (1983: 17):

Recent studies suggest that while universal tendencies exist for many aspects of conversations (for example, most languages are said to have

greetings and leave takings, turn-taking systems, and repair systems), and while such tendencies help learners converse in the L2, learners do not begin the task of acquiring an L2 fully equipped with knowledge of the target language conversational rules and norms.

CHAPTER FOUR SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter will evaluate Dutch speech data from two groups of second-generation Moroccan students in the Netherlands. The first group consisted of students integrated in the Dutch school system at a school for MAVO education, while students in the second group attended transitional education at an ISK ('international linking classes'). A total of 38 students participated in this part of the research, 19 from each school. The data were collected by means of informal interviews (see Appendix B) with one or more students, which resulted in 18 recorded speech events (10 with MAVO students and 8 with ISK students).

To some extent, the data discussed in this chapter represent a different type of speech event than the conversational interaction used as the basis for analysis in Chapter Five. While the interviews were conducted as informally as possible, as will be shown in 4.2 below, the speech elicited is nevertheless quite different from spontaneous conversation. A distinction may be made, in

Ochs' (1983) terminology, between planned and unplanned discourse where the former is thought out and organized in advance and the latter lacks such preparation. Though the student interviews generally did not result in rigid question-answer patterns and showed a considerable amount of variation, they nevertheless represent a fairly homogeneous set of speech data. For many of the interviews the length of the interaction was determined by the amount of time available and the contents are also predictable to a certain degree.

The disadvantages of interview data for conversational interaction have been widely debated in linguistic literature. However, since the main goal of this chapter is to compare the spoken interaction of two groups of second language learners, the relative homogeneity of these data may also prove to be of some benefit. The data were obtained in nearly identical speech situations and the topics were introduced by the interviewer most of the time. It can be assumed, then, that the interactions of both groups were similar and this would lend a greater validity to (1) the quantitative observations derived from the comparisons between the speech data and (2) generalizations about speech in a second language acquisition context.

4.2 Ethnographic Observations

All interviews at both schools were held in an empty classroom either during the mid-morning break, the lunch break or immediately following classes in the early afternoon. Though the very nature of an interview situation indicates a certain level of formality, an attempt was made to conduct the conversations in as natural a manner as possible. Formality was reduced in a number of different ways. In order to identify with the students I always dressed informally, usually jeans and a sweater, and I asked them to use my first name only, even though the teachers in these schools were usually addressed as 'Miss' or 'Mister' followed by a first name. Rather than using the teacher's desk, we arranged a number of student desks in a small circle and sat around it. To reduce awareness of the taperecorder I usually started running the tape while they were filling in their questionnaires, so that the beginning of an interview did not have to be accompanied by starting the tape. Finally, whenever possible, more than one student would be interviewed during a session. The number of students per speech event varied from one to four.

The duration of the speech events varied considerably because of a number of factors. As the mid-morning break lasted only twenty minutes, the interviews held during that time took up fifteen minutes, with five minutes for

answering the questionnaire. Similarly, the total time allowed during the lunch break was thirty-five minutes, whereas the interviews held after school were not constrained by such time limitations. Generally, more time was available for the interviews at the ISK than at the MAVO school. A second factor was the attitude of the participants. Some were more willing to talk or were less inhibited by the taperecorder, while others clearly remained aware of the formality of the situation. A third major factor was the fluency of the participants. Some of the students, particularly those at the ISK, had not mastered the language sufficiently to maintain an extended conversation.

All students were asked to assess their proficiency in Dutch with respect to speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing. The ratings were calculated on the following scale: 5=excellent, 4=good, 3=average, 2=difficult, 1=not at all. The mean results of the students' self-evaluations are reflected in Table 4-1.

Comparisons of the scores reveal that the MAVO students rated themselves higher than the ISK students with respect to their productive skills (speaking and writing), whereas the ISK students rated themselves equal to or even slightly higher than the MAVO students with respect to their receptive skills (comprehension and reading). The variables of speaking and writing showed the most important

differences between the two groups, which could be expected since the ISK students had only very recently begun to learn Dutch. While the ISK students rated themselves much lower than the MAVO students on the average, it is interesting to note that many of the individual ratings nevertheless reflected a high degree of confidence in their speaking abilities.

TABLE 4-1
STUDENTS' SELF-EVALUATIONS:
MEAN SCORES

	Speaking	Comprehension	Reading	Writing	Total
MAVO (n=19)	4.11	4.16	4.17 (n=18)	4.17 (n=18)	4.14 (n=18)
ISK (n=18)	3.61	4.22	4.17	3.83	3.93

Surprisingly, the ISK students assessed their comprehension slightly higher than the MAVO students and rated themselves equal with respect to reading abilities. A possible explanation for these relatively high ratings by the ISK students may be found in their educational backgrounds. Transitional education is obligatory for students of all levels of education, and consequently ISK students range from those who had primary education in Morocco to those who came from college preparatory backgrounds. In contrast, the MAVO students showed much

less variation in backgrounds, as most had attended primary education only or came from lower secondary education. Individual data show that ISK students with a collège or lycée background tended to rate their reading and comprehension abilities relatively high.

Comparisons of field notes on the students' fluency and general command of Dutch with the self-ratings of the students indicate that many of them, especially the ISK students, tended to overrate their abilities in their second language to some extent. The figures, thus, do not necessarily give an accurate representation of the students' proficiency in Dutch, although the relatively high scores suggest strongly that many of the students felt very comfortable in their use of Dutch. General impressions of the interviews support that assessment, as many of the students, even those who had only lived in the Netherlands for a short time, appeared to speak very freely during the conversations and did not seem inhibited by their lack of fluency in the language.

The interview topics were, to a great extent, determined by the interviewer, although the students were encouraged to speak as much as possible, to introduce topics, or to narrate stories. The questions from the interview were directed at eliciting information from the students about their own culture, their attitudes towards

their new country, school, the languages they used, religion, etc. (see Appendix B).

Although there was considerable individual variation in the backgrounds of the participants, a general distinction will be made here between the group of MAVO students and the ISK students. As shown in Chapter One, the average age of the MAVO students was 16,10 and that of the ISK students 17,3. The average age at arrival for the MAVO subjects was 12,3 years with a mean length of residence (LOR) of approximately 5,2 years, while the ISK subjects' average age at arrival was 16,2 years with a mean LOR of 1,1.¹ The ISK students thus represented a more recent group of arrivals in the family reunification process than the MAVO students.

With respect to ethnic background, the MAVO students were 57.89% Berber and 42.1% Arabic, while the ISK student were 52.63% Arabic and 47.36% Berber. These figures run parallel to the regional background of the subjects, as more of the MAVO students came from the North of Morocco (81.25%) than the ISK students (64.71%). However, it must be stressed that it is an oversimplification to identify the students as either Berber or Arabic. Frequently, one parent was of Berber descent and the other Arabic, so that the children were proficient in both languages. The linguistic situation within the families tended to be quite complex, as will be shown in the next section.

4.3 Situational Variation in Language Use

Because of the complex ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of many of the families, a variety of codes could be used within one family. Visits to the families yielded some interesting observations on the language use within the family situation. For example, mothers of Berber descent could often not communicate in Arabic with either their husband or their children, and Berber would then function as the main language of communication with the mother, whereas Arabic might be the language of communication with the father. This separation of codes seemed to underscore the more restricted role of the mothers in social relationships of conservative, rural Berber families where women were often kept in complete isolation. Many mothers in such families, for instance, were not allowed to leave the house, and the fathers and children would do the shopping, which restricted the mothers' exposure to Dutch as well. The fathers tended to have a better command of Dutch than the mothers, because their work situation would require at least a rudimentary command of the language. In addition, the children who had arrived in the Netherlands at an early age frequently used Dutch among each other, even though their parents generally did not communicate in Dutch. On the other hand, older children tended to prefer to speak Arabic or Berber with each other,

whereas they were forced to speak Dutch with the small children who attended Dutch kindergarten or primary school.

In order to obtain some information on the second generation's use of Dutch in various situations, item 10 was included on the questionnaire form (see Appendix A). This item was designed to elicit information on the students' use of language in four different situations: at home, at school, with friends, and in shops. Table 4-2 (page 114) is a schematic representation of the language behavior of both groups reflecting the situational variability.²

The table shows a number of differences in language use between the two groups of students. The most significant difference can be observed with respect to the use of Dutch in school. A majority of the MAVO students (64.71%) used only Dutch in school, while the remaining 35.29% used it in combination with Arabic and/or Berber, i.e. 100% of the MAVO students used Dutch, to varying degrees, in the school situation. In contrast, only 36.84% of the ISK students employed Dutch as the sole language in school, while 63.16% used it in combination with their native language(s). In the interviews the ISK students suggested that they learned relatively little Dutch in the transitional education classes because they had ample opportunity to talk with their peers in their native language. Their use of Dutch was restricted predominantly to classroom use with their teachers, while their native language(s) functioned as the

TABLE 4-2
SITUATIONAL VARIATION IN LANGUAGE USE

	Home			School			Friends			Shops		
	MAVO	ISK	MAVO	ISK	MAVO	ISK	MAVO	ISK	MAVO	ISK	MAVO	ISK
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Arabic	10.53 (2)	36.84 (7)	--	--	--	--	5.26 (1)	5.56 (1)	--	--	--	--
Berber	15.79 (3)	15.79 (3)	--	--	--	--	--	5.56 (1)	--	--	--	--
Dutch	5.26 (1)	--	64.71 (11)	36.84 (7)	47.37 (9)	22.22 (4)	100 (19)	94.74 (18)				
Arabic/Dutch	26.32 (5)	15.79 (3)	29.41 (5)	42.11 (8)	31.58 (6)	44.44 (8)	--	--				
Berber/Dutch	15.79 (3)	21.05 (4)	--	10.53 (2)	5.26 (1)	16.67 (3)	--	5.26 (1)				
Arabic/Berber	--	10.53 (2)	--	--	--	--	--	--				
Arabic/Berber/ Dutch	26.32 (5)	--	5.88 (1)	10.53 (2)	10.53 (2)	5.56 (1)	--	--				
	(n=19)	(n=19)	(n=17)	(n=19)	(n=19)	(n=18)	(n=19)	(n=19)	(n=19)	(n=19)	(n=19)	(n=19)

main source of communication. For the other group this situation was reversed. The MAVO students had fewer opportunities to interact exclusively with other Moroccans and used Dutch as their primary language, while Arabic and/or Berber were reserved for interactions with Moroccan friends only.

The third major column in Table 4-2 reflects peer interaction among the Moroccan students. Nearly 50% of the MAVO students used Dutch as their primary language among friends, and almost all of them (94.74%) used it in combination with Arabic and/or Berber. The ISK students spoke Dutch with their friends only 22.22% of the time, although in combination with their native languages they, too, spoke it nearly 90% of the time.

While only 5% of the MAVO students used Dutch alone as the language of the home, 73.68% used Dutch in combination with Arabic and/or Berber. This figure was significantly lower for the ISK students, where none used Dutch alone at home and only 36.85% used it in combination with their native language(s). Home usage contrasts most sharply with the usage in the shops where, with one exception, Dutch was employed as the sole language for both groups.

Some further differences may be noted between the two groups with respect to the functions of their native languages in various situations. For both groups, use of

Berber appears to be particularly associated with the home environment. For example, 57.9% of the MAVO group used Berber in combination with Arabic and/or Dutch at home, but only 5.88% of them used it in the school situation. With friends the use of Berber is slightly higher (15.79%) than in school, but still significantly less than at home. While the ISK students showed a less drastic variation, Berber was also used primarily at home (47.37%), while the percentages of use at school (21.06%) and with friends (27.79%) were, roughly speaking, half that of the home environment.

The situational variation in the use of Arabic was not nearly as great as that of Berber. The MAVO students used Arabic in combination with Dutch and/or Berber 63.17% at home, 35.29% in school, and 47.37% with friends. For the ISK students the figures show 63.16% use at home, 52.64% in school, and 55.56% with friends.

In summary, Berber appears to be associated most strongly with the home environment for both groups, and is abandoned more easily in school and among friends than Arabic. Factors such as length of residence and integration into the Dutch school system seem to play a role in this process, as the MAVO students showed more abandonment of Berber than the ISK students, which appears the more significant in view of the fact that a larger percentage of MAVO students came from Berber backgrounds. Use of Dutch,

on the other hand, increases significantly in all environments as a result of these factors.

4.4 Conversational Data: Quantitative Analysis

A total of eighteen interviews with secondary school students were recorded and were transcribed orthographically for data analysis. The transcriptions were made on a turn by turn basis and any episodes of simultaneous speech and code-switching were coded in the text. Simultaneous speech is defined here as both an interruption by a speaker in attempting to take a turn and turns spoken concurrently by several speakers. In order to obtain an objective measure of comparison between the two groups of secondary school students, the first ten minutes of transcription of each conversation were used as the basis for analysis. These conversational units were analyzed with respect to the following variables:

- (1) overall number of words;
- (2) overall number of turns;
- (3) overall mean length of turn;
- (4) number and percentage of turns taken by subjects;
- (5) number and percentage of turns taken by interviewer;
- (6) number and percentage of words spoken by subjects;
- (7) number and percentage of words spoken by interviewer;
- (8) mean length of turn of subjects;
- (9) mean length of turn of interviewer;
- (10) number and percentage of simultaneous speech episodes.

It must be stressed that the subjects' data discussed here represent the means of the variables per conversation rather than per individual contribution, as the objective

was to compare the differences between the groups with respect to conversational units.

Many of the basic measures from which the quantitative data in this chapter and the next are derived, were obtained by utilizing the word frequency and word count programs within a common word processing program.³ Though, naturally, a word processing program is limited in terms of statistical procedures, its capacities nevertheless provide very useful initial insights into the basic characteristics of a text. For example, the transcriptions were entered in such a way that calculations could be made of the overall word count, the participants' individual word counts, the total and individual number of turns, the number of hesitations, the average length per turn, etc. In addition, this information could be segmented to obtain such measurements over time.⁴ Within the limitations indicated, therefore, very useful applications can be made of widely available and accessible word processing programs.

Section 4.4.1 will examine the differences between the MAVO students and the ISK students in relation to conversational variables and significant findings in speech behavior will be discussed. Section 4.4.2 will correlate the conversational data of both groups with the sociodemographic data obtained from the subjects. Specifically, the significance of length of residence, age, and age at arrival to particular conversational features

will be assessed. Section 4.4.3 will further examine the issue of age and conversational competence, comparing the speech data from the adolescent subjects with those of the young adults.

4.4.1 Differences between MAVO and ISK Students

The individual conversations displayed a wide range of variation in terms of total word count and number of turns, which may be ascribed to, for instance, the fluency of the subjects, whether or not they felt comfortable with the interview situation, their willingness to talk about themselves and their culture, etc. In order to establish whether any significant differences existed between the two groups of students, the conversational data of the MAVO and the ISK students were compared along the conversational variables outlined under Section 4.4, using a two-tailed Wilcoxon Rank Sum test.⁵ Seventeen of the conversations were included in this analysis.⁶

First, it was established that, despite the variations in the conversations, the contributions of the interviewer remained at a relatively constant level for both groups of subjects.

Table 4-3 compares the number of turns and the number of words spoken by the interviewer with both groups. The null hypothesis could not be rejected for either the number of words or the number of turns spoken by the interviewer

with both groups.⁷ It was assumed, therefore, that variations were primarily the result of the subjects' contributions.

TABLE 4-3
MAVO AND ISK CONVERSATIONS:
INTERVIEWER'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Variable		Means ⁸ (n=17)	Standard Deviation
Number of words by interviewer	MAVO	798.62	169.16
	ISK	856.33	148.79
Number of turns by interviewer	MAVO	73.77	6.13
	ISK	81.62	16.24

In order to obtain a measure of the total differences in the conversations, the two groups of students were compared with respect to the overall data per conversational unit, which is shown in Table 4-4.

While the null hypothesis could not be rejected for the total word count per conversation, significant differences were noted with respect to both overall turn count and overall mean length of turn ($\alpha=.05$). The ISK students spoke an average of approximately 35 more turns per conversation than the MAVO students, which resulted in a significantly shorter overall mean length of turn. Parallel to the high turn count of the ISK students was their number of

simultaneous speech episodes, even though this did not result in a difference in percentage between the two groups. Thus, the null hypothesis could be rejected for the number of simultaneous speech episodes ($\alpha=.05$), but not for the percentage of simultaneous speech.

TABLE 4-4
MAVO AND ISK CONVERSATIONS:
COMPARISONS OF OVERALL DATA

Variable		Means (n=17)	Standard Deviation
Total number of words	MAVO	1561.55	216.39
	ISK	1332.87	191.66
Total number of turns**	MAVO	161.88	16.47
	ISK	206.25	52.39
Overall mean length of turn**	MAVO	9.75	1.86
	ISK	6.68	1.33
Number of simultaneous speech episodes**	MAVO	35.66	12.18
	ISK	63.87	33.76
Percentage of simultaneous speech episodes	MAVO	22.10	7.67
	ISK	30.37	11.87

** $\alpha = .05$

In addition to the comparisons between overall data per conversational unit, the differences between the two groups with regard to contributions of the subjects were also investigated. Table 4-5 shows the results of these comparisons.

TABLE 4-5
MAVO AND ISK CONVERSATIONS:
COMPARISON OF SUBJECTS' DATA

Variable		Means (n=17)	Standard Deviation
Number of turns by subjects**	MAVO	88.0	13.12
	ISK	124.62	40.41
Percentage of turns by subjects**	MAVO	54.23	3.42
	ISK	59.71	5.82
Number of words by subjects	MAVO	705.33	295.99
	ISK	534.25	288.03
Percentage of words by subjects	MAVO	43.83	14.71
	ISK	38.49	16.66
Mean length of turn of subjects***	MAVO	8.28	4.0
	ISK	4.46	2.44

** $\alpha = .05$

*** $\alpha = .10$

Significant differences were observed with respect to both number and percentage of turns by subjects ($\alpha=.05$). The null hypothesis could not be rejected, however, for number of words or percentage of words by subjects. Overall, the ISK subjects tended to have a shorter mean length of turn than the MAVO students ($\alpha=.10$).⁹

While the data reported here may not be sufficient for deriving any far-reaching claims concerning their generalizability, a few preliminary conclusions can be drawn as to the possible implications of these results. First, since the more advanced group of learners produced conversations which were not significantly longer than those of the group of beginners and since the number and percentage of words by MAVO subjects was not shown to be significantly different from that of the ISK subjects, it appears that in terms of conversational competence of second language learners quantity of speech alone would not necessarily be an adequate indication of fluency. The complexity of the speakers' utterances, which can be indicated by an average turn length, must be taken into consideration as well. For example, the overall mean length of turn of the MAVO conversations (9.75) was significantly longer than that of the ISK conversations (6.68), and, more specifically, the MLT of the subjects alone showed a difference as well (8.28 for MAVO students and 4.46 for ISK students).

On the other hand, beginning learners who are not yet fluent enough to produce complex utterances appeared nevertheless capable of sustaining successful conversational interactions by using such strategies as increased turn-taking, establishing turn control, and frequent interruptions. Overall, the ISK conversations consisted of 206.25 turns as opposed to 161.88 for the MAVO conversations. The subjects' turn counts similarly reflected a greater amount of turn-taking for ISK students (124.62) than for MAVO students (88.0). Furthermore, by measure of turn count percentage the ISK subjects were more in control of the conversations (59.71%) than the MAVO subjects (54.23%), even though they spoke fewer words during those turns. They also interrupted frequently (63.87 turns, or 30.37% of the time), whereas the MAVO students interrupted to a lesser extent (35.66 turns, or 22.10% of the time). In view of the interview situation and in view of their relatively short exposure to their second language, these figures indicate a very significant contribution to the conversations by the beginning learners.

In order to accomplish approximately equivalent conversations with respect to total number of words, the two groups of learners used very different strategies. The more advanced speakers of Dutch used fewer turns and spoke longer per turn, whereas the beginners appeared to compensate for their lack of fluency by adopting a strategy of increased

turn-taking. In addition, the ISK students controlled the conversation more and they spoke simultaneously or interrupted more frequently than the MAVO students. It seems, then, that generally the beginning language learners were quite successful in sustaining conversational interactions in their second language, even though they were limited to some extent by their lack of proficiency in grammar, vocabulary, etc.

4.4.2 Conversational Data and Sociodemographic Variables

Of the sociodemographic data obtained on the students, three variables were considered to be the most appropriate for analysis. These were mean length of residence (LOR), average age at arrival, and average age of the students. Again the data were analyzed per conversational unit. Some questions, such as influence of ethnic background, region of origin, etc. on conversational behavior, could not be addressed because of the heterogeneity of the data, while the uniformity of other data precluded further analysis of such factors as socioeconomic background.

The Spearman Rank Correlation coefficient was used to correlate the conversational variables with the sociodemographic data. In total, sixteen conversations were used to correlate age at arrival and length of residence with the conversational variables, and seventeen to

correlate age with the conversational variables.^{6,10} Table 4-6 shows the results of these correlations.

TABLE 4-6
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LENGTH OF RESIDENCE
AND CONVERSATIONAL VARIABLES

Variables	Spearman r_s (n=16)
Total number of words	.623**
Total number of turns	-.311
Overall mean length of turn	.641*
Number of simultaneous turns	-.538**
Percentage of simultaneous turns	-.455***
Number of turns by subjects	-.494***
Percentage of turns by subjects	-.582**
Number of words by subjects	.458***
Percentage of words by subjects	.276
Mean length of turn of subjects	.441***

* $\alpha = .01$

** $\alpha = .05$

*** $\alpha = .10$

Length of residence of the subjects correlated significantly with overall mean length of turn, while a weaker correlation was found with respect to the subjects' mean turn length. The data thus suggest that both the overall length of turn per conversation and the subjects' length of turn (i.e. separated from the interviewer's

contributions) increased according to the participants' length of stay in the Netherlands. The finding with respect to the overall MLT is interesting in that it strongly indicates that the general complexity of the conversation increases with longer residence by subjects. This seems to point to the interactive processes involved in conversations, as it seems that the interviewer increased her mean length of turn in response to the greater complexity of turns by the subjects.

Length of residence also was correlated positively with total word count per conversation. The number of words spoken by the students correlated weakly with LOR, and percentage of words spoken by subjects did not show a significant correlation with LOR. It appears, then, that the subjects who had resided in the Netherlands longer did not necessarily contribute a larger quantity of speech to the conversations than those who had only recently arrived. Overall, however, the more extended conversations seemed to be possible with subjects with a longer LOR.

No correlation was discovered between LOR and total number of turns, whereas the number of turns spoken by the subjects showed a weak negative correlation with LOR. A strong negative correlation, however, was found between LOR and percentage of turn contribution by subjects. This finding suggests that the longer subjects had resided in the

Netherlands, the less likely they were to establish turn control in the conversation.

Finally, number of simultaneous speech episodes showed a strong negative correlation with LOR, while a weak negative correlation was found with respect to percentage of simultaneous turns. Thus, the conversations with subjects who had a longer LOR tended to have fewer interruptions overall than conversations with more recently arrived immigrants.

A second demographic variable which was correlated with the conversational data was age at arrival. As Table 4-7 shows, a very significant negative correlation was found between age at arrival and overall number of words per conversational unit, while the subjects' word count also correlated negatively with arrival age. Percentage of words of subjects, however, did not show a significant correlation. Generally, then, a younger age at arrival contributed to a larger quantity of speech produced during the interviews, although the subjects who had arrived at a younger age did not tend to establish more control through percentage of words per conversation.

Both overall number of turns and number of turns by subjects failed to show any significant correlations with age at arrival. Percentage of turns by subjects, on the other hand, was significantly correlated with age at arrival. This seems to support the finding reported above

that the students who had arrived more recently tended to speak a larger percentage of the turns per conversation. This could not be confirmed with respect to number of turns, however.

TABLE 4-7
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE AT ARRIVAL
AND CONVERSATIONAL VARIABLES

Variable	Spearman r_s ($n=16$)
Total number of words	-.658*
Total number of turns	.205
Overall mean length of turn	-.570**
Number of simultaneous turns	.576**
Percentage of simultaneous turns	.429***
Number of turns by subjects	.417
Percentage of turns by subjects	.573**
Number of words by subjects	-.529**
Percentage of words by subjects	-.361
Mean length of turn of subjects	-.485***
* $\alpha = .01$ ** $\alpha = .05$ *** $\alpha = .10$	

A significant negative correlation was also shown for age at arrival and overall mean length of turn and, to a slightly lesser degree, subjects' mean length of turn. This suggests an interactional process similar to that discussed

with respect to length of residence; i.e. an increase in turn complexity by the subjects resulted in an overall increase in turn complexity per conversation. Just as LOR, age at arrival also correlated strongly with number of simultaneous speech episodes and less strongly with percentage of simultaneous turns.

The final sociodemographic variable to be considered here is age of the subjects, which is shown in Table 4-8.

TABLE 4-8
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE
AND CONVERSATIONAL VARIABLES

Variable	Spearman r_s ($n=17$)
Total number of words	-.294
Total number of turns	--
Overall mean length of turn	-.144
Number of simultaneous turns	.541**
Percentage of simultaneous turns	.629*
Number of words by subjects	-.360
Percentage of words by subjects	-.308
Number of turns by subjects	--
Percentage of turns by subjects	.174
Mean length of turn of subjects	-.245
* $\alpha = .01$	
** $\alpha = .05$	

With the exception of simultaneous speech episodes, none of the conversational variables showed any significant correlations with age. Particularly percentage of simultaneous speech was found to correlate positively with age. Younger speakers, then, seemed less likely to interrupt the conversations than older speakers.

However, only overall age per conversation was correlated with conversational variables. It is necessary to also define age groups more precisely and investigate whether conversational behavior of adolescents might differ from that of young adults. The next section will look at these aspects of age in greater detail.

4.4.3 Age and Conversational Data

In order to compare the speech data of the adolescent subjects with those of young adults, a distinction was made between the conversations with subjects up to 16,0 years old and those with subjects of 16,1 years and older. Though any distinction between 'adolescent' and 'young adult' must be regarded as entirely arbitrary, the age division chosen here reflects the difference between those students who were still of compulsory school age (up to age 16) and those who were no longer obliged to attend school according to Dutch law (cf. Chapter Two, section 2.5.2.2).

A two-tailed Wilcoxon Rank Sum test was used to compare the two age groups with respect to ten conversational

variables. Table 4-9 shows the results for group A which consisted of the adolescent subjects (up to 16,0 years of age) and group B which was comprised of the young adult subjects (16,1 and up).

TABLE 4-9
ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS:
COMPARISON OF OVERALL CONVERSATIONAL DATA

Variable		Means (n=17)	Standard Deviation
Total number of words	Group A	1461.6	229.56
	Group B	1450.75	241.59
Total number of turns	Group A	170.0	35.48
	Group B	187.66	45.88
Overall mean length of turn	Group A	8.92	2.70
	Group B	8.05	2.09
Number of simultaneous turns***	Group A	30.6	14.65
	Group B	56.58	29.03
Percentage of simultaneous turns***	Group A	17.61	5.97
	Group B	29.48	10.03

*** $\alpha = .10$

With respect to the overall conversational variables, the null hypothesis could not be rejected for total number

of words, total number of turns, or mean length of turn.¹¹ However, the null hypothesis was rejected for number and percentage of simultaneous speech episodes ($\alpha=.10$). The older group, thus, showed a tendency to interrupt more frequently during the conversations.

TABLE 4-10
ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS:
COMPARISONS OF SUBJECTS' CONVERSATIONAL DATA

Variable		Means (n=17)	Standard Deviation
Number of words by subjects**	Group A	764.6	315.92
	Group B	599.5	269.3
Percentage of words by subjects	Group A	44.44	20.66
	Group B	40.02	13.55
Number of turns by subjects	Group A	95.6	31.26
	Group B	109.25	35.57
Percentage of turns by subjects	Group A	55.26	6.22
	Group B	57.46	5.1
Mean length of turn of subjects	Group A	7.64	5.01
	Group B	6.0	3.33

** $\alpha = .05$

With respect to subjects, Table 4-10 shows that a significant difference was found with regard to the number of words spoken ($\alpha=.05$). The younger subjects spoke a significantly greater number of words than the older subjects. The null hypothesis could not be rejected, however, for any of the other conversational variables.

This analysis could only take into account a limited number of conversations and thus generalizations can at best be tentative. However, since the null hypothesis could not be rejected with regard to the majority of the conversational parameters included here, the data would seem to imply that age may generally be neither a particularly positive nor negative factor to conversational behavior in a second language acquisition context. It appeared that the factors of length of residence and age at arrival have a more direct influence on conversational competence than age alone.

4.5 Conversational Strategies: Summary Discussion

This section will discuss some of the findings reported in section 4.4 above in more detail and relate them to the broader context of second language acquisition and intercultural communication strategies. In addition, data which could not be quantified but which were relevant to the findings are included in the discussion. Section 4.5.1 will provide a general assessment of the observed correlations

between sociodemographic and conversational variables in relation to acquisition of conversational competence, while sections 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 will address the strategies of turn-taking and simultaneous speech respectively.

4.5.1 General Observations

It was found that both age at arrival and length of residence contributed to the complexity of utterances by second language learners, as measured in mean length of turn. Comparisons between the two groups of students confirmed these findings, as the conversations of the MAVO students, who had arrived earlier and had stayed in the Netherlands for a considerably longer amount of time on the average, were shown to have a significantly longer mean turn length than those of the ISK students. The total number of words produced in a conversation was also correlated significantly with both age at arrival and length of residence. In view of the fact that the correlations with both overall mean length of turn and overall word count were more significant than with the subjects' mean length of turn and subjects' word count respectively, it was suggested above that the interviewer might have perceived the subjects' as more fluent and adapted her speech style to the level of that of the subjects.

Several correspondences were found between the correlations of conversational variables and age at arrival

and length of residence respectively. For example, each of these sociodemographic variables showed a significant correlation with overall mean length of turn, total number of words, number of simultaneous turns, and percentage of turns by subjects. However, with the available data it was not possible to predict which factor might be a better indicator of conversational outcome. Generally, the older subjects tended to have a shorter LOR and vice versa. Additional data would be needed, then, to assess these two factors more carefully.

As to the variable of age, the most significant difference observed between the adolescent and young adult subjects pertained to number of words by subjects. Furthermore, a significant negative correlation was found between age at arrival and number of words by subjects. It is possible that the younger subjects tended to monitor themselves less than the older subjects. It was shown above that the subjects who had arrived in the Netherlands at an early age tended to speak Dutch at home with their smaller brothers and sisters. An informal look at the data reveals that more younger students tended to speak only Dutch with their friends and school mates than older students: six students between 13,4 and 15,11 years old reported speaking Dutch only, while three 17 year old students used Dutch exclusively in those situations. Another factor affecting monitor use may have been the level of education of the

subjects. Younger subjects usually had received little education in Morocco, whereas many of the older subjects had attended secondary school in Morocco and had often been exposed to a second language (usually French) before. Thus, language learning may have been a less formal experience for the younger subjects than for the older ones.

4.5.2 Turn-taking

While some aspects of the subjects' turn-taking behavior conformed to expectations, other findings proved more contradictory. For example, the observed increase in mean length of turn as a result of both length of residence and age at arrival confirmed the expectation that learners' utterances become increasingly complex over time. Naturally, beginning learners cannot be expected to produce complex sentence structures or long sentences, as they do not master the vocabulary and grammar of the L2 sufficiently. Surprisingly, however, beginning learners were in many ways as capable of sustaining a conversation as the more advanced learners.

The differences in turn involvement between the beginning and the more advanced learners of Dutch raise some questions. While the results of Section 4.4.1 showed that the ISk students contributed a significantly greater number of turns to the conversations than the MAVO students, no significant correlations were found between the

sociodemographic variables LOR, age at arrival or age and either overall turn count or turn count by subjects. This raises some doubts concerning the accuracy of the assessment that increased turn-taking could be interpreted as a learner strategy.

Significant correlations were found, however, between percentage of turns by subjects and LOR and age at arrival. Longer residence and earlier age at arrival seemed to imply a smaller percentage of turns per conversation. Furthermore, the ISK-students contributed approximately 60% of the turns to the conversations, while the MAVO-students only spoke 53% of the turns on the average.

In addition to the explanation given above, which assumes that learners must increase their turn-taking as a compensatory strategy, it is also possible that frequent turn-taking is a culture-specific strategy. Assuming that frequent turn-taking might, for instance, also be indicative of Arabic conversational strategies, it can be argued alternatively that learners who had arrived in the Netherlands at an early age or those whose length of residence was relatively long, might show a decrease in turn-taking. Without specific analysis of extended conversational data it is not possible to make a definitive judgment as to which observation might be the most probable in this context. Therefore, it is merely suggested that more than one explanation might apply here. Chapter Five,

however, will discuss some aspects of the turn-taking strategies of Moroccan-Dutch discourse in greater detail.

4.5.2 Simultaneous Speech

The ISK-students used a significantly greater number of simultaneous speech episodes per conversational unit than the MAVO-students. However, this appeared to run parallel to the greater number of turns they spoke per interview, since the difference in percentage of simultaneous turns between the two groups was not significant. Nevertheless it was interesting that the ISK-students tended to interrupt slightly more (30% of the time) than the MAVO-students (22% of the time) overall. The level of formality of the MAVO-conversations may have been somewhat higher, as it was shown that the time constraints were more severe for the MAVO-students than for the ISK-students. However, since the initial ten minutes of conversation were analyzed for both groups, differences in formality could only be expected to be marginal.

The data suggest that level of education and age appear to have an effect on the percentage of simultaneous speech per conversational unit. Particularly level of education correlated significantly with simultaneous speech. Most of the subjects had lower educational backgrounds in Morocco; with the exception of two groups of ISK-students who had attended collège or lycée, all the other subjects reported

either primary or lower-level secondary educational backgrounds. In order to confirm this hypothesis, percentage of simultaneous speech was calculated per educational level. The results showed that conversations with subjects reporting primary education only had a mean of 21.4% simultaneous speech, those with a MAVO-level background had a mean of 27.5% simultaneous speech, and those with a collège or lycée education had a mean of 45.6% simultaneous speech. Despite the fact that the data could not be quantified, there appears to be a tendency towards a positive correlation between level of education and percentage of simultaneous speech. Furthermore, the differences between the groups of MAVO and ISK students with respect to percentage of simultaneous speech became negligible when the collège- and lycée-educated students are not counted into the figures (22% vs. 25% respectively). Without these students, both groups represented subjects of educational comparable backgrounds.

The second factor which was shown to contribute to the level of simultaneous speech per conversation was age of the subjects. It was found that age correlated positively with both percentage and total number of simultaneous speech (section 4.4.2) and that there was a tendency for the older age group to interrupt more frequently than the younger subjects. In terms of role relationships within conversations, then, subjects who were closer in age and

educational background to the interviewer might have been less intimidated by the interview situation so that they could feel free to interrupt the conversations.

Finally, subjects who had lived in the Netherlands longer and subjects who had arrived at an earlier age were found to contribute a smaller percentage of turns to the conversations and to interrupt less frequently, whereas recent immigrants tended to use much more simultaneous speech. Though it was shown above that the ISK students, who were generally the more recent arrivals, tended to be slightly older and slightly better educated than the MAVO students and thus could be expected to interrupt more, these observations alone are not sufficient to fully explain the correlations between simultaneous speech and age at arrival and LOR. For example, some of the MAVO students had a very short LOR, some of the ISK students had arrived at an early age, etc. It seemed that there were also cultural differences in discourse style which affected the frequency of interruptions. In Dutch culture, for example, it is usually not acceptable to interrupt other speakers during a conversation; in polite discourse one speaker waits for another speaker to finish before taking a turn. As will be shown in Chapter Five, among the young adult Moroccan immigrants in this study interruptions may not necessarily be regarded as impolite. Within a group, for instance, simultaneous speech may function as a solidarity strategy.

The student data suggest, therefore, that subjects who had lived in the Netherlands longer or who had arrived at an early age appeared to have adopted a more Dutch discourse style, whereas the more recent arrivals tended to have retained the strategies from their native culture in conversations in their second language.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has compared speech data of two groups of Moroccan immigrants learning Dutch. Differences were noted with regard to the students' self-assessments of their second language proficiency and with regard to the situational variation in language use. The speech data of both groups of learners were quantified in order to obtain some objective measures of comparison of conversational competence. Both MAVO students and ISK students were found to be equally proficient in maintaining conversational interactions, but it was shown that the two groups used different turn-taking strategies.

Moreover, the sociodemographic variables length of residence (LOR), age at arrival, and age were correlated with a number of conversational parameters. Particularly LOR and age at arrival appeared to be of influence to acquisition of conversational competence. For example, mean length of turn and total word count were positively correlated with these variables. Age, on the other hand,

showed a correlation with simultaneous speech, but could not be correlated with any of the other conversational variables.

Some cultural differences in discourse style were also observed in the data. More recent immigrants, for instance, tended to take more turns overall and interrupt more frequently than the students who had lived in the Netherlands longer. While the data in this chapter were not appropriate to conclusively establish such differences in discourse style but were considered to be indicative of certain tendencies, the next chapter will analyze an extended conversation with Moroccan speakers of Dutch and will address such issues in more detail.

4.7 Notes

¹ The discrepancy between the average age at arrival, average age, and mean length of residence is the result of some inconsistencies in the questionnaire answers (cf. Chapter One, section 1.3).

² This table only represents the subjects' language use in the Netherlands and does not reflect additional variations reported by the subjects on their language use in Morocco. For example, a number of students from the Northern part of Morocco also spoke Spanish, while students who had attended advanced secondary education (lycée or collège) in larger cities in Morocco usually spoke French at school.

³ The program used here was Microsoft Word.

⁴ Segmentation of speech data, for example, was used for the analysis of an extended conversation in Chapter Five.

5 The Wilcoxon Rank Sum test is a nonparametric test for comparing two population distributions and is considered equivalent to the Mann-Whitney U test.

6 One interview with two MAVO students was only 7 minutes long and therefore too short to be included in the analysis.

7 Under the null hypothesis there are no differences between the conversational variables for the MAVO and the ISK students.

8 While the Wilcoxon Rank Sum test uses medians, the tables in this chapter present the data by means as it is a more commonly employed measure. Furthermore, this establishes a continuity with the next chapter in which the data are discussed in terms of means and percentage as no statistical analysis could be used.

9 Although the 5 percent level was considered to be significant, results at the 10 percent level are discussed here as well, as they may indicate certain tendencies which would merit further investigation.

10 Conversation J9 (with MAVO students) could not be analyzed as the data for LOR and age at arrival were missing.

11 Under the null hypothesis there are no differences between the conversational variables for the adolescent and young adult age groups.

CHAPTER FIVE SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND CONVERSATIONAL INTERACTION

5.1 Introduction

To any investigation within the field of conversational interaction, the use of natural language data is invaluable in discovering the discourse strategies of a particular group within a particular context. The present chapter will address some of the interactional aspects of the usage of Dutch by a group of second generation Moroccan immigrants. Basis for the discussion is an extended, tape-recorded conversation between the researcher and five Moroccan men in their early twenties. All examples from the text have been translated into English. First, the larger context of the speech event will be evaluated through ethnographic observations. The second part of the chapter is a quantitative analysis of some of the basic components of the interaction, such as turn-taking behavior, participant roles, etc. The third section will evaluate the quantitative data with respect to both the theoretical framework of conversational analysis and to a specific understanding of the discourse strategies within this particular text.

5.2 Ethnographic Observations

During my stay in Utrecht I had contacted the Association of Moroccan Migrants in Utrecht (AMMU) concerning their possible participation in the research. At their invitation I attended one of their weekly meetings held at the center. At the conclusion of this meeting a small group of Moroccans met with me to discuss my research, but this conversation was not recorded. However, it was decided that I would come back and lead a group discussion session in which I could ask a number of specific questions concerning social and cultural issues.

The discussion took place on December 6, 1986, at the AMMU Center in a small upstairs room which functioned as the central office for the organization. The entire session lasted approximately 1½-2 hours, while the discussion itself had a duration of approximately 80 minutes. Although a number of other people were present at the beginning of the meeting, five subjects participated in the actual research by filling out the questionnaire and contributing to the entire discussion.

These subjects were slightly older than the school-age subjects discussed in the previous chapter. The participants were five young men who ranged in age from 19 to nearly 23 years, with an average age of slightly over 21 years. Their level of education appeared to be somewhat

more advanced than that of the subjects interviewed at secondary schools in Utrecht. Two of the subjects were employed (as librarian and printer respectively) and three were attending schools at a relatively advanced level; for example, one of the students was in his preparatory year of teacher training and one attended the fourth form of a HAVO in Utrecht. All three were integrated in the regular Dutch school system. All five subjects had previously received secondary education in Morocco.

Three of the subjects were originally from Northern Morocco (Nador), an area from which many Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands originate. The subjects' length of stay in the Netherlands ranged from more than six years to slightly over one year, with an average of approximately 3,3 years. Their average age at arrival (approximately 18,6 years) was significantly higher than that of the two groups discussed earlier. All subjects came from large families with an average of approximately seven siblings each. The fathers of three of the subjects were unemployed, while one father was a laborer and one a printer. None of the mothers worked.

The pattern of language use shows a number of correspondences with that of the groups of school children discussed in the previous chapter, as can be seen in Table 5-1.

TABLE 5-1
LANGUAGE USAGE OF AMMU SUBJECTS

Subject Home		School/Work	Friends	Shops
S1	Berber	Arabic/Dutch	Arabic	Dutch
S2	Arabic	Dutch	Arabic/Dutch	Dutch
S3	Berber	Ar/Ber/Dutch	--	Dutch
S4	Arabic/Dutch	--	Arabic/Dutch	Dutch
S5	Arabic	Arabic/Dutch	Arabic/Dutch	Arabic/Dutch

Berber was the home language for two of the speakers and Arabic for the other three, while one of the Arabic speakers also used Dutch at home. Dutch played a significant role within the school/work situation, although only one subject used it exclusively. Berber was also most easily abandoned by these older speakers in both the school/work environment and among friends. Two of the subjects reported that they received additional Dutch instruction in their spare time.

The AMMU subjects were also asked to assess their proficiency in Dutch and their scores are presented in Table 5-2. The table shows that this group evaluated themselves much lower than the groups of students discussed in Chapter Four. The total score for AMMU subjects is 3.27, while the MAVO and ISK students rated themselves 4.14 and 3.93 respectively.

TABLE 5-2
SELF-ASSESSMENT SCORES OF AMMU SUBJECTS

	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	Total by Category
Speaking	2	3	2	3	3	2.6
Comprehension	2	3	3	4	3	3.0
Reading	3.5	4	3	5	3	3.7
Writing	5	4	3	4	3	3.8
Total per Subject	3.13	3.5	2.75	4.0	3.0	3.27

As can be expected, the AMMU group ranked their receptive skills (reading 3.7 and writing 3.8) higher than their productive skills (speaking 2.6 and comprehension 3.0). They evaluated their speaking ability particularly low compared to the students' self-evaluations, even though they were not significantly less fluent than many of the subjects in the student groups. It seems likely, as was noted in the previous chapter, that the students tended to overrate their abilities, whereas the AMMU subjects, possibly because they were somewhat older, attempted to give a realistic or even slightly critical evaluation of their proficiency in Dutch.

Both during the previous meeting and during this discussion, subject 5 presented himself as the leader of the

group of youths at the AMMU. Although another Moroccan apparently had been appointed as the president of the organization, subject 5 had acted as interpreter and discussion leader at a general meeting I had attended, and he functioned as the main spokesperson of the small group participating in the research. Perhaps his leadership role can be attributed to the fact that he was slightly older than many of the others, was quite well-educated, and was employed in a well-respected, white collar profession (librarian).

In the initial phase of the discussion, however, subject 1 assumed control of the situation. He attempted to direct the natural flow of the conversation into an interview format by forcing each subject to answer my first question in the order in which they were seated around the table; for example, in turn 12 he declares "O.k., yes, he will start." When I tried to explain that it was not necessary that everyone wait for their turn to start talking, he did not agree, controlling the pattern for the time being:¹

15. N: Yes, you don't have to take turns. I mean ...

16. S5: Yes.

17. S1: I think that it's better.

18. N: Huh?

19. S1: I think it's better.

20. N: Oh.

Turn-taking, then, was initially adapted to his directions, as can be seen in turn 24:

N: Yes, just take turns; how about you ...?

During the first stage of the speech event, the efforts of subject 1 succeeded in attaining an interview situation, with the researcher's role to pose questions and the subjects' roles to answer in turn, in a prescribed order. However, this rigid pattern only lasted as far as the first question, as obligatory turn-taking appeared to have been forgotten after the second question. The second question was no longer answered in order of seating arrangement, and gradually the conversation took on a more natural pattern with subjects introducing topics and taking turns as required by the context, not by any preset rules of interviewing.

Beside the question of the role relationships within the specific setting outlined above, i.e. the roles of group leader and group members and researcher and subjects, the larger issue of social and cultural roles must be addressed as well. At first glance it would appear that this situation contains a highly asymmetrical relationship of a university researcher conducting a conversation in Dutch with subjects who are not native speakers of that language. Furthermore, the relatively short average length of stay of the subjects would tend to indicate an even greater linguistic and cultural disadvantage for the subjects.

However, the situation was quite unusual in that a number of other factors would tend to present the role relationships in exactly the opposite light. First, the researcher was the only female at a Moroccan immigrant center where in total approximately 30-40 Arabic-speaking men were present. Second, the researcher had not lived in the Netherlands during the previous eight years and was therefore in many ways less aware of the cultural and political situation than the subjects. In addition, by admitting that she had not spoken Dutch for eight years, the interviewer stressed that she could identify to some extent with the problems of integration and adaptation of the subjects, though naturally the situations were very different in many other respects. The subjects were aware of this, which enabled the researcher at times to distance herself of "being Dutch" and assume a more objective perspective in discussions of various problems of immigrants in the Netherlands. Therefore, though from a larger, societal perspective, the researcher would clearly have been in control of the speech situation, the context of the immediate environment presented a less asymmetrical relationship. Perhaps it can be suggested that the situation allowed a trading off of linguistic control on the part of the researcher against the natural advantage of the home ground for the subjects, resulting in an almost cooperative effort of assessing

various problems of a society which, in many respects, was unfamiliar to both.

A variety of topics was addressed during the discussion, ranging from social and cultural to political issues. In compliance with the subjects' initial request for an interview, a number of specific questions and topics for discussion had been prepared in advance (see Appendix C). Though at first the questions were initiated by the researcher, the subjects soon began raising related topics which were of particular concern to their own situation. The pre-planned questions could thus be abandoned very quickly. Examples of recurrent themes are discrimination, educational problems, legal status of immigrants, etc. Some explicitly linguistic topics, such as language acquisition, communication problems, etc., were purposely raised by the researcher, and again, generally the subjects related them to their specific individual circumstances rather than provide general observations.

An important question which has not been addressed directly thus far is the problem of whether to consider this speech event as an interview situation or a more natural type of speech event, such as a group discussion or conversation. As stated earlier, the subjects themselves had originally expressed preference for a rather formal interview situation, with the researcher in control of the entire question and answer session through a series of

premeditated questions. However, both because of the subjects' direct involvement and interest in the topics under discussion, as shown above, and because of the researcher's conscious attempts to abandon the formal interview situation as quickly as possible in order to elicit more natural speech, the event can be more properly described as a conversation.

In order to validate the claim that the event constituted a natural speech situation, I have applied the following criteria set forth in Sacks et al. (1974: 700-701), which characterize the notion of 'conversation':

- (1) Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs [...].
- (2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time [...].
- (3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief [...].
- (4) Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common. Together with transitions characterized by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions [...].
- (5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies [...].
- (6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies [...].
- (7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance [...].
- (8) What parties say is not specified in advance [...].
- (9) Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance [...].
- (10) Number of parties can vary [...].
- (11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous [...].
- (12) Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk [...].
- (13) Various 'turn-constructional units' are employed; e.g., turns can be projectively 'one word long,' or they can be sentential in length [...].
- (14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations; e.g. if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of

them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble [...].

This speech event conforms to these criteria as a conversation. Particularly the next section will illustrate the naturalness of the speech situation in that turn size was not fixed, simultaneous speech was common, speakers change frequently, etc. In contrast, it does not in general conform to Sacks et al.'s (1974: 710) characterization of an interview situation:

The turns which an 'interview system' organizes alternately are 'questions' and 'answers.' In these and other speech-exchange systems, the turn-taking organization employs, as part of its resources, the grosser or finer pre-specification of what shall be done in the turns it organizes.

Though particularly in the initial stage of the discussion there still is a question-answer pattern, it has been observed that this approach was abandoned very early on and that an attempt was made to allow the subjects to determine the direction of the conversation in terms of topic selection, turn-taking, and participant roles. With the exception of the first question in which subject 1 attempted to involve every participant in a pre-arranged order, the relative distribution of turns was not specified in advance. Throughout the remainder of the conversation, turn-taking was generally the result of the natural organization of speech.

In terms of the goals of the speech event, a differentiation must be made between the goals of the

researcher and those of the subjects. It appears that in each case the goals were two-fold. The researcher's immediate aim was to elicit information on a variety of social, cultural, linguistic, and political topics concerning second generation Moroccan immigrants, but had as ultimate goals to elicit, if possible, natural speech data on second generation Moroccan immigrants. The subjects, on the other hand, were interested in contributing to a research effort, but secondly, and more importantly, wanted an opportunity to discuss their most pressing problems in an effort to perhaps gain some attention to their cause. These not necessarily contradictory yet somewhat different goals may explain the initial tension between the group's preference for a more formal interview situation and the researcher's efforts to elicit a more spontaneous conversation. Ultimately, this underlying conflict appears to have been resolved through both the apparent balance in role relationships between the subjects and researcher and their involvement in the topic contents, which succeeded in breaking the constraints of the interview situation.

5.3 Quantitative Analysis of Speech Data

In the next sections an attempt will be made to combine the more standard sociolinguistic approach to speech phenomena with a quantitative analysis of a natural conversation. A number of quantitative measures, such as

word count and turn-taking phenomena, will be discussed in relation to a variety of sociolinguistic phenomena, such as goals, role relationships, etc., within an extended conversational interaction.

A number of clarifications need to be made about the following data. First, in calculations of variables per participant, simultaneous speech episodes in which individual contributions of participants could not be identified, are not included in the count. Thus, for individual calculations only those turns are identified and only those words are counted which can be attributed with certainty to a specific speaker. Second, within the following text any measure of word count relating to subject 3 has been regarded as invalid, as this subject was very soft-spoken, so that many of his utterances could not be transcribed in full. As his turn-taking behavior could be clearly identified, however, the analysis does include all the appropriate measures for turns. Finally, hesitations which were recorded in the transcriptions were deducted from the total word count in order to provide a more accurate picture of the actual spoken discourse. An analysis of pauses, however, was outside the scope of this study.

In order to obtain a measure of the development of the conversation, the speech event was divided into eight segments of approximately 10 minutes each. The measure of

time allows a more detailed evaluation of various aspects of the interaction.

5.3.1 Total Number of Words

After the word count program was run on the entire text, the results were corrected for ambiguities arising from the transcription conventions. The total count was 11,278 words, and, corrected for hesitations, the final count came to 10,978 words. This number includes the utterances spoken during those simultaneous speech episodes in which speakers could not be identified individually.

In the description of the speech event (5.1 above), it was noted that the total duration of the conversation was approximately 80 minutes. While this information indicates a rather lengthy interaction, it does not in any way reflect the intensity of the interaction. For example, the time measure alone would not reveal whether much was said during the conversation or whether much of the time was filled by uncomfortable silences or whether much effort was needed to sustain the conversation. The total word count of 10,978 words, however, would clarify this, as it reflects a rather lively discussion. Both in terms of duration and intensity, then, the interaction appeared generally successful.

Furthermore, the total word count may also be considered a possible measure of fluency, as it suggests that the subjects were capable of sustaining an extended

conversation in their second language (Dutch). Language problems did not appear to interfere with the general progression of the conversation to any great extent, as the event did not, for instance, end prematurely or appeared strained in any way. However, where appropriate, specific discourse strategies will be related to the issue of second language acquisition.

Finally, it has been pointed out (section 5.1) that the subjects were in their own environment and that this contributed toward a more symmetrical role relationship between researcher and participants. The "home advantage," therefore, may also be reflected in the word count, since the subjects were comfortable in their own setting and spoke freely on the topics they took an interest in.

5.3.2 Total Number of Words per Participant

Table 5-3 lists the total number of words per participant and the percentage of speech of each individual speaker by rank order. The numbers in this table only reflect the number of words that could be identified with a particular speaker. The interviewer will be identified in the tables as 'N.' The contributions of Subject 3 are not calculated into the figures, as only a small portion of his speech could be transcribed. The total number of words transcribed for subject 3 came to 384, which would reflect a contribution of 3.5% of the conversation.

TABLE 5-3
TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS AND PERCENTAGE
OF CONTRIBUTION PER PARTICIPANT

Participant	Number	Percentage
N	3,527	33.46%
S5	2,346	22.26%
S1	2,208	20.95%
S4	1,719	16.31%
S2	740	7.02%
(S3	384	3.5%)

When these figures are compared to the more impressionistic observations on role relationships in section 5.1, a number of clarifications can be made. The leadership role of subject 5 among the subjects can be affirmed, as his contribution to the conversation was substantial, reflecting perhaps his role as spokesperson for the group. Similarly, subject 1, who from the start was very involved in the conversation and initially assumed a certain amount of control in directing the turn assignments, spoke for more than 20% of the time as well. The contribution of subject 4 can be considered as average, while subjects 2 and 3 participated only modestly in the conversation.

Despite the fact that the speech event can be generally characterized as a conversation (see 5.1 above), the total word count per participant suggests that the researcher (N) was nevertheless generally in control of the situation. The data show that the researcher's contributions account for 33.46% of the words spoken, indicating perhaps a much greater amount of control over the situation than suggested earlier. However, total word count alone presents only a partial picture of the speech event, and other measures, such as number of turns and contributions over time, need to be examined before a final assessment can be made of the various role relationships among the participants.

The subjects' individual contributions can be related to their self-evaluations, particularly of their speaking and comprehension abilities. Table 5-4 shows the subjects by ranking from high to low. The data show that the speakers' intuitive judgments do not necessarily correlate with their actual performance in spoken interaction. Subject 1, for instance, rated himself rather low on both speaking and comprehension, yet contributed significantly to the conversation. Subjects 2 and 5 each rated themselves as average in both categories, but subject 5 contributed substantially more than subject 2.

TABLE 5-4
SUBJECTS' JUDGEMENTS ON
ORAL PROFICIENCY AND COMPREHENSION

Subject	Speaking	Comprehension
S4	Average	Good
S2	Average	Average
S5	Average	Average
S3	Difficult	Average
S1	Difficult	Difficult

Though possibly subject 3 might have felt inhibited in engaging in a conversation in Dutch, it cannot be established with certainty. The lack of data for this subject is primarily the result of his soft tone of voice which could often not be picked up by the microphone, not of any particularly noticable lack of fluency or comprehension. Second, this subject could conceivably have had a general problem with control in conversations because of his voice quality, although this was not established. It appears, therefore, that perceived levels of fluency and comprehension did not significantly affect the outcome of the interaction in terms of the total number of words spoken by each participant.

5.3.3 Total Number of Turns and Mean Length of Turn

The total number of turns of all six participants in the conversation was calculated to be 848. This number does not reflect the episodes of simultaneous speech where a turn could not be associated with a particular speaker or speakers. Compared with the total duration of the conversation (80 minutes), the figure indicates a mean of more than 10 turns per minute; i.e. frequent speaker changes occurred, which seem to support the earlier observations that the interaction was lively and intense (cf. section 5.3.1). The total mean length per turn for all participants was 12.88, 13.38 without subject 3.

As the figures listed above can only provide a very general impression of the total speech event, more detailed data are needed of the development of the interaction over time and of the individual participants.

5.3.4 Number of Turns over Time

The distribution of turns over the eight ten-minute segments is shown in Table 5-5. The table shows that after the initial two segments the number of turns per segment increased markedly over the subsequent three segments. This increase may also support the observation that the beginning of the conversation was rather formal and did not allow much flexibility in turn-taking for the participants, while

gradually, as the interview format was abandoned, the speech became more natural.

TABLE 5-5
NUMBER OF TURNS OVER TIME

Segment	Number of turns	% of turns
1	48	5.66%
2	72	9.63%
3	108	12.74%
4	154	18.16%
5	113	13.33%
6	69	8.14%
7	81	9.55%
8	203	23.94%

Segment 6 is relatively short because the tape was being changed from one side to another, which caused some of the turns not to be recorded and which may have interrupted the flow of the conversation for a brief period. The turn count for segment 8 is very high, at 203. However, this segment is slightly longer in duration than the other segments (approximately 12 minutes), which needs to be taken into account. Nevertheless, the turn count in this segment is still relatively high, and a few other factors must be considered that play a role in this part of the

conversation. During the final segment, simultaneous speech episodes in which two or more participants interrupt each other's speech, are very common. One explanation may be that the participants had, by that time, become very comfortable with the conversation and with the researcher as well, so that they felt free to interrupt each other to indicate support of someone's standpoint or to provide additional information. Another possible reason for the high turn count may be the subjects' involvement with the topic at that point. Although the topic, which dealt with Moroccan students' lack of opportunities to integrate into the Dutch school system, particularly at higher levels, spurred on an intense argument, it had been initiated by the end of segment 6. At this point, therefore, it cannot be established with certainty why the final segment contains such a disproportionally high number of turns.

5.3.5 Total Number and Percentage of Turns per Participant

Table 5-6 presents the total number of turns and the percentage of turns per participant and provides a comparison by rank with the percentage of words per participant. In comparing the total turn count with the total word count per participant, a number of differences can be noted. First, the difference in percentage between the researcher and subject 5 is substantially smaller in the turn count than in the word count, which may indicate that

the role relationship between researcher and subjects was not quite as asymmetrical as a word count alone would show.

TABLE 5-6
TURNS AND WORDS PER PARTICIPANT
BY PERCENTAGE AND RANK

Participant	Number of turns	Percentage of turns	Rank	Percentage of words	Rank
N	231	27.24%	(1)	33.46%	(1)
S5	199	23.47%	(2)	22.26%	(2)
S4	145	17.10%	(3)	16.31%	(4)
S1	138	16.27%	(4)	20.95%	(3)
S2	75	8.84%	(5)	7.02%	(5)
S3	60	7.08%	(6)	(3.5%)	(6)

Second, subject 4 ranks in third place by percentage of turns, whereas by percentage of words he ranked fourth, reversing ranks both times with subject 1. This would suggest that while subject 1 may have been somewhat wordier than subject 4 in his utterances, subject 4 initiated more turns, so that their roles appear on a much more equal level than the word count suggested.

Third, the turn count reveals more about subject 3's speech behavior than was possible through the word count, as the transcription of his speech was unfortunately incomplete. Though his precise utterances could not be

transcribed, his turn behavior could be easily identified. The above table shows that even though subject 3's contribution was slightly smaller than that of subject 2, the difference was very small. Subject 3's role, therefore, was very similar to that of subject 2.

Fourth, both the turn pattern and the word count pattern establish subject 5 as the leader of the group, which conforms to the observations made under section 5.1 on his real-life role as spokesperson of the organization. The combined pattern of turns and word count, then, establishes subject 5 as the major spokesperson, while subjects 1 and 4 made significant contributions and subjects 2 and 3 were least involved in the interaction.

5.3.6 Speech Behavior per Participant over Time

Although a total turn count per participant provides some insight into the different role relationships in general, it is necessary to study the turn behavior over time in order to evaluate the dynamics of the speech behavior more accurately. In this section, three measures of speech behavior over time will be discussed: 1) number of turns; 2) percentage of turns; and 3) number of words. Table 5-7 shows the number of turns per participant distributed over the eight segments of the speech event. This table presents a much more dynamic picture of the turn-taking during this conversation, as it shows that control,

in terms of the greatest number of turns per segment, changed regularly from participant to participant.

TABLE 5-7
NUMBER OF TURNS PER PARTICIPANT OVER TIME

Segment	N	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
1	23	15	1	2	3	3
2	26	18	4	4	7	15
3	28	15	28	2	15	20
4	36	20	13	7	28	49
5	31	19	8	19	22	14
6	14	13	0	14	23	5
7	32	11	2	1	10	25
8	41	27	19	11	37	68

Most participants, except subjects 1 and 3, were in control at different points in time. It is interesting to note that subject 1, who contributed significantly in number of words spoken, never actually was in control in terms of turn count. Nevertheless, his turn behavior appears much more consistent than that of the other subjects. Subject 3 never appears in the foreground, but his contributions in segments 5 and 6 can be considered substantial.

In segments 1 and 2, the researcher is in control, in segment 3 subject 2 has an equal number of turns, while in

segment 4 subject 5 is in control. The figures appear to substantiate the claim that the researcher attempted to diminish her role and that the conversation became less formal and allowed the subjects to contribute more freely after the opening sequence.

Table 5-8 presents the turn-taking behavior of participants by percentage of contribution over time.

TABLE 5-8
PERCENTAGE OF TURNS
PER PARTICIPANT OVER TIME

Segment	N	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
1	47.92%	31.25%	2.08%	4.17%	6.25%	6.25%
2	36.11%	25.00%	5.56%	5.56%	9.72%	21.43%
3	25.93%	13.89%	25.93%	1.85%	13.89%	18.52%
4	23.37%	12.98%	8.44%	4.54%	18.18%	31.81%
5	27.43%	16.81%	7.07%	16.81%	19.46%	12.38%
6	20.29%	18.84%	0%	20.29%	33.33%	7.25%
7	39.51%	12.58%	2.47%	1.23%	12.35%	30.86%
8	20.19%	13.30%	9.35%	5.41%	18.22%	33.49%

Viewing the progressive turn count by percentage reveals a number of additional insights into the development of the conversation which the turn count itself did not show. The researcher's contribution by percentage steadily

declines over the first four segments to about half the percentage of the first segment, even though the actual turn count increases. Similarly, subject 1's percentage of turns decreases in the first four segments and then levels off around half the level of the initial segment. The contribution of subject 5, on the other hand, increases steadily by percentage to approximately four times the initial percentage by segment 4. Subject 4's percentage of turns increases over the first six segments, at which point he actually gains control of the conversation. The patterns of subjects 2 and 3 are not as clearly definable, as their percentage of turn contributions varies somewhat. In very general terms it could be observed that their contributions are greatest in the middle part of the conversation.

Table 5-9 presents the number of words per participant over time. Again, subject 3's word count is not considered in this table. When the data in table 5-9 are compared with those of table 5-7, some additional modifications can be made of the issue of control in the conversation. In segment 5, both subject 1 and subject 3 actually speak a greater number of words than N, even though the researcher is in control of the number of turns. In segment 3, both subject 2 and N speak 28 turns, but N's word count is substantially greater at more than twice the number of words. And in that same segment, subjects 1 and 5 also speak more than subject 4.

TABLE 5-9
NUMBER OF WORDS PER PARTICIPANT
OVER TIME

Segment	N	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
1	621	201	109	-	79	102
2	575	535	23	-	103	346
3	639	443	297	-	180	348
4	490	154	161	-	202	552
5	196	353	46	-	312	107
6	81	179	0	-	322	87
7	692	253	5	-	172	217
8	298	178	118	-	401	656

In segment 6, subject 1 produces twice as many words as N, who is second in number of turns. In segment 7, subject 1 is second in terms of word count, even though subject 5 takes a greater number of turns. In segment 8, subject 4 is second in terms of word count, even though N takes a greater number of turns. Overall, then, the role of subject 1 is substantially greater in terms of word count, while N's role is somewhat smaller. To compare the issue of control in terms of both turn count and word count, Table 5-10 lists the two subjects in control of each individual segment.

TABLE 5-10
CONTROL BY SEGMENT

Segment	Control by number of turns	Control by number of words
1	N and S1	N and S1
2	N and S1	N and S1
3	N equals S2	N and S1
4	S5 and N	S5 and N
5	N and S4	S1 and S4
6	S4 and S3	S4 and S1
7	N and S5	N and S1
8	S5 and N	S5 and S4

In addition to the criterion of role relationships, other explanations must be considered for the constant change in control during the conversation. Sections 5.4.2 and 5.4.5 will explore this issue with respect to possible correlations between ethnic background and turn-taking behavior and the significance of topics for turn-taking.

5.3.7 Mean Length of Turn

This section will evaluate various measures of turn length in the conversation. Table 5-11 shows the mean length of turn per speaker for the entire speech event. Subject 3 is again excluded for the reasons stated above.

TABLE 5-11
MEAN LENGTH OF TURN

Participant	Average length of turn
S2	19.03
S1	17.24
S5	16.14
N	15.82
S4	14.56
S3	-

The figures are somewhat misleading in that subject 2's high average turn length is mainly the result of one extremely long turn (109 words) in the first segment; the average of his other turns came to only 6.17, far below that of the other subjects. Subject 1, however, showed a consistent pattern of rather lengthy turns.

The mean length of turn per participant over time is presented in Table 5-12. The first segment shows a very long average length of turn overall (45.68), which is partially the result of subject 2's long speech. However, with the exception of subject 1, the other participants also show a much greater length of turn in segment 1 than in the other segments. The average length of turn in segment 1,

then, seems to signal the high degree of formality with which the speech event began.

TABLE 5-12
MEAN LENGTH OF TURN PER PARTICIPANT
OVER TIME

Segment	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	Total Ss	N	Total Ss+N
1	13.4	109	-	26.33	34.0	45.68	27.0	41.95
2	29.72	5.75	-	14.71	23.07	18.31	22.12	19.07
3	29.53	10.61	-	12.0	17.4	17.39	22.82	18.47
4	7.7	12.38	-	7.21	11.27	9.64	13.61	10.43
5	18.58	5.75	-	14.18	7.64	11.54	6.32	10.49
6	9.42	0	-	14.0	17.4	10.21	5.79	9.32
7	23.0	2.5	-	17.2	8.68	12.85	21.63	14.6
8	6.59	6.21	-	10.84	9.65	8.32	7.27	8.11

During the initial episode, as shown in section 5.1, the subjects responded to a question by a pre-arranged turn distribution, which was felt as an interview situation and contributed to the formality of the interaction. As can be seen from Table 5-12, the average length of turn decreases dramatically immediately after the first segment, declining steadily through segment 4 and leveling off in the final four segments. Segment 1, therefore, can be considered as the formal episode of the speech event, while segments 2

through 8 constitute the natural conversation part. This, naturally, is also of significance to the mean length of turn for each individual speaker. As each of the speakers was assigned a turn by subject 1 in response to the first question, it can be assumed that all speakers were affected to some degree by the level of formality of the conversation. In order to establish the mean lengths of turn per individual more accurately, Table 5-13 will present the distinction between the average turn lengths of the first segment and the subsequent seven segments for each of the participants.

TABLE 5-13
MEAN LENGTH OF TURN:
SEGMENT 1 VS. SEGMENTS 2-8

Participant	Segment 1	Segments 2-8
S2	109	6.17
S5	34.0	13.58
N	27.0	14.22
S4	26.33	12.87
S1	13.4	17.79
S3	-	-

Although the division between segment 1 and the other segments is somewhat arbitrary in that no sharp line can be drawn at the exact point where the conversation changed from

formal to informal, it is nevertheless useful to establish a measure which can indicate, to some extent, an important change in tone within a speech event. In this particular case, the change was accompanied by a drastic change in goals from interview to conversation. The actual process, naturally, extended beyond the first segment and can be seen in the gradual subsequent decrease of the mean length of turn during the second and third segments, leveling off around the fourth segment. Roughly speaking, then, a stable level of 'naturalness' was established after approximately one third of the conversation.

Assessing the data on each of the individual participants reveals that the researcher's length of turn decreased steadily throughout the first six segments, which seems to reflect her conscious effort to change the goal of the conversation toward establishing a less formal situation and to decrease her role from discussion leader to average participant (and, ideally, mere observer). Subject 5 shows a similar pattern through the first five segments, which is somewhat puzzling, as, unlike the researcher, he did not have an obvious reason to decrease his role. One possible explanation, though rather speculative, may be that his decrease in length of turn is merely a direct consequence of the change in level of formality and not of a conscious change in role on his part.

5.3.8 Simultaneous Speech Episodes

Quite frequently during the conversation participants did not wait for a speaker to complete an entire turn, as many turns were spoken simultaneously with other turns or were interrupted and partially overlapped with other turns. Table 5-14 shows the total number of simultaneous speech episodes and the percentage per segment compared to the total number of turns.

TABLE 5-14
SIMULTANEOUS SPEECH EPISODES

Segment	Total number of turns	Total number of simultaneous turns	Percentage of simultaneous turns
1	48	4	8.33%
2	72	26	36.11%
3	108	43	39.81%
4	154	85	55.19
5	113	67	59.29%
6	69	28	40.58%
7	81	38	46.91%
8	203	110	54.18

As the opening episode has been established as a rather formal part of the interaction, it seems logical that such interruptions were rare. Throughout the first five

segments, the simultaneous speech episodes steadily increased in frequency, with a maximum percentage of nearly 60 percent of the turns. Although the percentage slightly decreased in segments 6 and 7, it increased again to 54% in the final segment. Overall, the percentage of simultaneous speech is very high (397 out of 848 turns, or 46.81%), which may, once more, enhance the impression of informality and spontaneity of this speech event. These findings support the results reported in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.3) that older and better educated subjects tended to interrupt more frequently.

5.4 Discourse Strategies

The two previous sections have thus far presented ethnographic and quantitative data to analyze an extended conversational interaction by Moroccan immigrants speaking Dutch. While in many respects the quantitative analysis appeared to support and clarify the ethnographic observations, it could not provide an exhaustive discussion of all the significant aspects of this conversation. A number of additional discourse phenomena that are relevant to a thorough understanding of the interaction need to be explored in more detail. This section, therefore, will relate some of the current insights into discourse strategies to the findings reported in the quantitative

analysis above and provide specific illustrations from the text.

5.4.1 Turn-taking

In the literature on turn-taking behavior, it has been suggested by various researchers that not all utterance pairs necessarily involve a change of speaker. Many utterances, such as 'mmm,' 'uhhuh,' 'yeah,' etc., tend to be interpreted as assertions of the current speaker's right to continue rather than as attempts to take the floor. Such utterances, it is argued, should therefore be distinguished from turns proper. They are generally designated as 'back-channel utterances' and should be viewed as "demonstrations of continued, coordinated hearership" (cf. Schegloff, 1968: 380).

In the Moroccan-Dutch speech event described here, these back-channel utterances can be shown to fulfill two major functions. The overwhelming majority of the back-channel utterances in the conversation were spoken by subject 5 and the researcher, who accounted for almost one half and one third respectively of the total number of such utterances. A possible explanation of their turn-taking behavior may be found in their respective roles in the conversation.

The researcher, as has been shown before, consciously attempted to reduce her contributions in order to elicit

natural speech from the subjects. A large number of back-channel utterances, often used as a means to encourage the other participants to continue talking, can therefore be expected as a natural reflection of her increased background role. An example of this is shown below.

Example 1

391 S5: Painful.

N: Yes.

S1: So discrimination is present again in Holland...

S3: Discrimination exists everywhere ...

S5: Yes, that's possible ...

N: Yes.

S3: In school, too [...]

At this point subject 3 initiates the sub-topic of discrimination in the schools and uses a long turn to discuss this issue, at the end of which the researcher only interjects "Really?", which then encourages some of the other subjects to continue the topic.

The explanation of a decrease in role, however, does not apply to subject 5, as it has been shown in section 5.3 that he actually increased his role during the course of the conversation. His large number of back-channel utterances at first glance appears to be in direct contradiction to his role as leader. It has been pointed out to me, however, (Dr. Aida Bamia, personal communication) that subject 5's

strategy of interjecting frequently, often more than once within other participants' sentences, can be seen as a conscious effort to maintain control. Within Arabic culture, leadership implies occupying a central role. Despite the fact that the circumstances in this particular situation required him to defer some of this authority to the researcher, he would nevertheless strive to remain as much as possible within the center of attention. His back-channel utterances should be interpreted, then, not as a background effort to demonstrate 'coordinated hearership', but rather as a strategy to keep involved in a topic until the opportunity would arise for him to take over the speaker role. The following two examples will illustrate these strategies.

Example 2

646 N: Mmm. But you shouldn't just learn to...

S5: Yes, sure...

N: ...'house,' 'garden'... You also should learn Dutch terms for...

S5: Yes, yes, that's ...

N: ...mathematics and for physics and for history and...

S5: Yes, yes.

N: ...and they don't do that, I believe, because then...

At this point, after he has interrupted three times within one sentence and without waiting for the statement to be

finished, subject 5 takes control and continues with the topic in a somewhat different direction. In another example he interrupts one of the other subjects in a similar manner:

Example 3

680 S4: But that offers six jobs as well to...

S5: Yes.

S4: ...unemployed comb...

S5: Yes, yes, yes.

S4: ...to combat unemployment.

S5: Yes, but eh ... Yes, but ...

S4: What do you mean 'but'?

S5: But that is expensive.

Subject 4 seems aware that subject 5 is trying to take control and finally confronts him and passes the turn on to him. The utterances of subject 5 are quite clearly perceived as interruptions by both the researcher and subject 4, as they each have a problem continuing their sentence after the first interruption; subject 4 speaks an ungrammatical utterance, which he later corrects, and the researcher does not show a logical continuation of the sentence, but starts over with a new sentence.

Subject 5's strategy in such cases is the result of his cultural perceptions of his leadership role, which must, above all, be maintained, even though politeness conventions to some extent require him to acknowledge the role of the researcher in this speech situation. The use of back-

channel utterances to maintain a central role may be one instance of a difference in contextualization conventions between speakers of Arabic and speakers of Dutch. Speakers of Dutch would tend to interpret such frequent interruptions as a sign of impoliteness or lack of interest in the speaker's topic. To a speaker of Arabic, however, the interruptions might signal attempts at asserting a role and not necessarily disinterest in the conversation or lack of respect towards the speaker.

While subject 5 interrupted more frequently than any of the other subjects, the frequency of simultaneous speech episodes in general increased also as the conversation progressed and the total percentage of simultaneous speech was very high (cf. 5.3.8, Table 5-14). It was suggested that this might have been a measure of the decrease of formality in the speech event: as the conversation continued, the subjects felt free to interrupt each other and complemented each other's statements. This finding, however, contradicts the assertion by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: 700) that "overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time." A similar result was obtained in Burns' (1980) study of Yucatec Mayan narratives, where approximately one third of the responses constituted simultaneous speech. Burns (1980: 315-16) observes that the increase in intra-utterance responses may be seen as contributing to the development of complexity of the verbal activity between the

speakers. This certainly also would seem to characterize the Moroccan-Dutch conversation, as has been shown above.

Frequent interruptions during a conversation are not uncommon among North African speakers of Berber and Arabic (Dr. Aida Bamia, personal communication).² Additions to or corrections of the current speaker's comments may not be regarded as impolite, but can be perceived as signs of solidarity with the speaker. For example, during the conversation the subjects often helped each other with language problems, as can be seen in the following excerpts.

Example 4

165 S1: [...] When someone wants to have more than one wife that means that each woman must [get] equal, eh, equal ...

S5: ... treatment ...

S1: ... equal treatment [...]

Example 5

519 S4: [...] I attended that next year ...

S1: Last year.

S4: Last year [...]

Adding to other speakers' statements was another common reason for interrupting.

Example 6

606 S1: [...] then they have the right to [go] ...

S5: ... to the university ...

S1: ... in school ... in school ...

S5: ... to the university ...

S1: ... to the university as well.

Because of the solidarity principles within the group, such additions and corrections are generally considered as a form of assistance that is valued rather than frowned upon, and the interruptions thus often signal agreement rather than dissent.

5.4.2 Coherence and Cohesion

According to Tannen (1987), repetition may contribute to the creation of coherence in a text. In spoken interaction, she notes,

repeating the words, phrases, or sentences of other speakers (a) accomplishes a conversation, (b) shows one's response to another's utterance, (c) shows acceptance of others' utterances and their participation, and (d) gives evidence of one's own participation. It provides a resource to keep talk going -- where talk itself is a show of involvement, of willingness to interact, to serve positive face.

(Tannen, 1987: 584)

She further suggests that cultural factors may contribute to the use of repetition in a given context. Particularly the recent findings of Johnstone Koch appear relevant to the present data.

Johnstone (1987), for instance, observes that the grammatical structure of Arabic makes repetitive strategies especially available to speakers (cf. Tannen, 1987: 600). Koch (1983) investigated persuasive texts in contemporary Arabic and argues that

repetition is shown to provide far more than ornamental intensification in Arabic prose; rather it is the key to the linguistic cohesion of the texts and to their rhetorical effectiveness. In contrast to Western modes of argument, which are based on a syllogistic model of proof and made linguistically cohesive via subordination and hypotaxis, Arabic argumentation is essentially paratactic, abductive and analogical. It persuades by making its argumentative claims linguistically present: by repeating them, paraphrasing them, and clothing them in recurrent structural cadences.

(Koch, 1983: 47)

While Koch's evidence for Arabic argumentative structure derives mainly from textual analysis, a closer look at the Moroccan-Dutch interaction reveals that the participants employed several types of repetitive strategies in the course of the conversation.

The first type of repetition occurs specifically in the first and second sections of the speech event. The subjects would structure their arguments in a circular style by first presenting a brief summary of the topic under discussion, then expanding on it through examples, explanations, etc., and finally summarizing it in a brief statement which indicates that the topic is concluded. The structure can be schematically represented as follows:

1. topic statement
2. {explanations,
 {opinions }
 {examples }}
3. synopsis/repetition of topic

The following examples from the text will illustrate this in more detail (in some cases, irrelevant parts of the text have been omitted to show the structure of the discourse more clearly).

Example 7

- 25 S1: [...] But my plan is as follows: I would like to get an education, a good education. Next I am planning to study computer science. When I complete that here, then, I believe, I'll return to Morocco. That is really my plan.

Example 8

- 67 S1: For example, I can also give an example. For example, on Fridays. For Muslims, for Moroccans, they have to go to the mosque at noon. That is really obligatory [...]. That is also an example.

Example 9

- 48 S5: Yes, that concerns the question of whether people who come to work from another country, whether they should integrate into the society. [...] That is ... that is the solution, I think.

The argumentative structure used by the subjects appears characteristic of the Arabic mode of persuasion outlined by Koch (1983). As she observes (1983: 55), " . . . it is the presentation of an idea -- the linguistic forms and the very words that are used to describe it -- that is persuasive, not the logical structure of proof which Westerners see behind the words."

The discourse structure of Arabic may provide some further insights into the linguistic form of these

constructions and the effects they may evoke in intercultural encounters. Though Arabic is not necessarily a topic-prominent language (cf. Li and Thompson, 1975: 460), it frequently employs the topic-comment construction rather than a subject-predicate sentence structure. In topic-comment constructions, old, or presupposed information is presented first, followed by new, or asserted information. Keenan and Schieffelin (1975: 338) extend the discussion of given versus new information beyond the sentence level and suggest the notion of discourse topic, which they define as "the PROPOSITION (or set of propositions) about which the speaker is either providing or requesting new information."

The Moroccan subjects employed these topic-comment structures particularly in the opening episode of the conversation where the speech style was more formal than in the rest of the encounter. As the constructions involves a certain amount of complexity of turn organization, use of the topic-comment construction would, to a certain degree, account for extended turn length. Thus, the level of formality at the beginning of the speech event is reflected in a number of parameters, such as length of turn, lack of simultaneous speech, and use of topic-comment constructions.

Native speakers of Dutch would tend to consider these constructions as somewhat awkward. A topic that has been mentioned immediately before (i.e. old information) would not need to be re-introduced; in fact, repetition would be

regarded as superfluous and unnatural in most contexts, particularly in informal encounters. In addition to such judgments on the well-formedness of discourse structure, however, inferences about the speaker's intent may be equally important. Keenan and Schieffelin (1975: 360) note that the contrast between given and new information in discourse requires that "the speaker should take into account the listener's knowledge or awareness of a particular object in making reference to that object within a discourse topic." If speakers make the error of underestimating the listener's knowledge by unnecessarily repeating old information, they may appear as talking down to or insulting the listener. According to Keenan and Schieffelin (1975: 361), "in 'talking down' the speaker believes that the listener is not informed about some individual, event, process, etc., to the extent that the speaker is." Native speakers of Dutch, then, when listening to Moroccans employing the constructions described above, may make the wrong conversational inferences. Such constructions might be interpreted as insults to the intelligence of the listener, while, to a native speaker of Arabic, they would not be intended that way but function to (1) structure the speaker's argumentation and (2) simultaneously reflect the level of formality of the interaction.

A second strategy for cohesion, which, unlike the topic-comment construction, was maintained throughout the speech event, was repetition of lexical elements and, very frequently, entire phrases and sentences as well. This strategy of repetition seemed to fulfill two major functions in the conversation: (1) it was necessitated by the second-language acquisition context; for example, the researcher often repeated words and phrases, sometimes with a questioning intonation, when the pronunciation or meaning of utterances seemed unclear; and (2) many of the repetitions appeared to have a culture-specific function, as the subjects themselves frequently repeated both their own and other speakers' utterances.

The first strategy is commonly used in interactions between native speakers and second language learners when there is a communication breakdown. If a meaning or pronunciation is not clearly understood, a request for clarification is made and the speaker then corrects, or merely repeats, the utterance to insure optimal communication. As can be seen in the following example, if the listener is still not sure after the first correction has been made, the sequence can be repeated once again to verify the interpretation, and the second speaker may optionally affirm it a second time.

Example 10

831 S1: ... for example, there are 114 laws that are against foreigners. Did you know that?

N: There are 114 ...?

S1: Laws.

N: Laws.

S1: Laws. That are against foreigners.

The second strategy, however, appeared to be quite different from the first, as generally the repetition occurred when there was no need for clarification. Frequently, as the subjects were talking among themselves, they either repeated each other's utterances verbatim or focused very rigidly on a particular theme.

Example 11

499 S4: They think that when we go into a shop we don't go to buy but to steal ...

S5: ... to steal ... yes, yes.

S4: They think we won't buy ...

N: No...

S4: We are going to steal.

N: Yes.

S4: But that is not possible.

S5: Yes, I [have talked] with someone who says that Moroccans steal, but we should ... there certainly are Moroccans, Moroccans youths who steal [...].

While continuous repetition of lexical elements and phrases generally contributes to the thematic unity and cohesion of

the text, the high frequency of such repetitions appeared to have a specific function within the context of the interaction. Repeating seemed to signal agreement with the speaker's point of view in a manner similar to that of interrupting with corrections and additions (cf. 5.4.1). This type of repeating, then, may have had the dual function of expressing the Arabic argumentative style referred to above and thereby signalling solidarity among the group.

Although the researcher initially did not follow this strategy, toward the end of the conversation she tended to use repetitions more frequently according to the themes pursued by the subjects. For example, in the following passage, the group is discussing the language abilities of Moroccan children who are born in Holland. As the context is very clear, there appears to be no immediate communicative need for repetition.

Example 12

773 S3: And they speak Dutch very well.

S5: Yes. And they ...

S3: (not clear)

S5: Yes, they speak Dutch very well.

N: So the little ones...

S3: They were born here...

N: ... speak Dutch very well.

Ss: Yes.

S3: They are born here.

S2: And nearly 50 out of the 90 percent can't speak Arabic, but ...

S5: Yes, yes.

N: Yes.

S5: Yes, exactly.

S2: ... [they speak] Dutch very well.

S3: No problem with the language.

Four of the speakers (S3, S5, N, and S2 respectively) affirm that the children "speak Dutch very well" and there is no indication of any communicative breakdown at this point in the conversation. The researcher, then, appears to be using the strategy of repetition to signal solidarity with the views of the subjects rather than to request clarification. Gumperz (1982b: 14) has described this process of adjusting one's speech style as communicative flexibility, which is defined as

an ability to adapt strategies to the audience and to the signs, both direct and indirect, so that the participants are able to monitor and understand at least some of each other's meaning.

He further explains that communicative flexibility is particularly required in encounters between culturally different speakers where much of the meaning is "indirect and implicit" (cf. Gumperz, 1982b: 14). In order to establish a satisfactory encounter, meaning must be negotiated continuously by the participants of the interaction. In addition, accomplishing certain goals or

establishing or maintaining control in a conversation requires communicative flexibility on the part of the participants as well.

5.4.3 Goals

As discussed earlier (cf. sections 5.1 and 5.2), in the Moroccan-Dutch conversation the goals were initially conflicting, although this situation was gradually resolved and resulted in a successful interaction. All participants had to continuously adapt their speech styles according to the changes in the conversation. The subjects initially established a formal interview situation, which is reflected in the structure of the conversation through long turn counts, lack of simultaneous speech episodes and an assigned turn-taking pattern, and is shown in the discourse strategies through long, formal questions on the part of the researcher and elaborately phrased answers, often in the form of topic-comment constructions, on the part of the subjects. The objectives of the researcher, to encourage a natural speech situation, were accomplished by decreasing participation in the speech event, for instance through shortened turn length.

While the researcher thus initially had to adapt her questioning strategies to conform to the level of formality expressed by the subjects, the subjects subsequently demonstrated communicative flexibility by radically changing

their speech to an informal style. For example, the number of simultaneous speech episodes increased, accompanied by a significantly shorter mean length of turn, increase in the use of back-channel utterances, and repetitions of words and phrases. Some of the subjects' strategies, in turn, required a certain amount of adjustment on the part of the researcher, as they reflected some cultural differences.

Throughout the conversation, then, communicative flexibility was required of all the participants to accomplish the objectives of the interaction. In addition, however, a certain amount of flexibility is needed in an encounter to maintain conversational cooperation among the participants. In other words, flexibility is not only needed to see an encounter through from start to finish, but also to keep it running smoothly or pleasantly. Beebe and Giles (1984: 7), for example, argue that people adjust, or accommodate, their speech styles in order to achieve such goals as "evoking listeners' social approval, attaining communicational efficiency between interactants, and maintaining positive social identities." The issue of role relationships and control in an interaction is an important aspect of communicative flexibility among participants and will be discussed in the next section.

5.4.4 Control

It has been established in previous sections that subject 5 and the researcher were mostly in control of the conversation, both in terms of an evaluation of their respective social roles and of the quantitative analysis of their speech behavior. The researcher's role as initiator of the speech event and subject 5's control as leader of the group were reflected in their overall contributions to word and turn counts. With respect to discourse strategies, however, subject 5 attempted to maintain or strengthen his leadership role, while the researcher consciously diminished her control as much as possible in the situation. Subject 5 interrupted the other speakers many times and often successfully gained control of the discussion of a particular topic. The researcher, on the other hand, used back-channel utterances in a different way in order to encourage the subjects to continue speaking. The underlying motives for this speech behavior derive from the goals within the conversation, which were presented in the previous section.

Discourse strategies were not only used to manipulate the amount of individual control within the encounter, but also served to establish solidarity among the participants. The subjects interrupted each other frequently to offer corrections and additions to the discussion, and such

interruptions were generally accepted as a sign of support among the group. Furthermore, they often used the strategy of repetition to signal solidarity with the speaker's point of view on a particular topic. Through such culture-specific strategies, then, the subjects established a pattern of control over the researcher by means of group solidarity. The researcher, however, attempted to adapt to these strategies (cf. use of repetition) and used additional politeness strategies to break through the constraints of group solidarity and identify with the subjects. Brown and Levinson (1978: 108) have termed such strategies 'positive politeness,' which they explain as follows:

Positive-politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purposes of the interaction, as somehow similar.

Scollon and Scollon (1983: 167) describe this as 'solidarity politeness,' behind which lies "the assumption that there is little distance (-D) between the participants and that there is also at most a slight power (-P) difference between them."

Some examples of solidarity politeness within the Moroccan-Dutch conversation show that the researcher attempted to identify with the subjects' cultural values and with their problems of integration and adaptation.

Example 13

- 47 N: [...] well, to compare it with me, I also went to live in another country [...] yes, you feel somewhat isolated from your own culture and the contacts you had. On the one hand, you feel part of the new culture [...], but on the other hand you retain much of your own culture [...].

Example 14

- 121 N: Yes, for instance, there are a lot of prejudices against the Koran, aren't there? For example, I read a number of passages about women and many things in those times were really very radical, an improvement for the women [...].

A final strategy which served to transfer control during the conversation was topic control. The next section will relate the issue of topic identification in discourse to some of the other factors contributing to control in conversations.

5.4.5 Topics

Chapter Three discussed some of the problems surrounding the concept of topic in conversational analysis. It was pointed out that a precise topic analysis, detailing topic maintenance and shift, is difficult to perform for most types of spoken interaction. In interview situations, such as those with the Moroccan students, topics are generally introduced by the interviewer, resulting in a relatively simple bounded topic progression. The extended Moroccan-Dutch conversation is a much more complex

type of speech event, however. It has been shown that the goals of the conversation were different for interviewer and participants and that, when the level of formality decreased, control tended to shift from interviewer to participants.

In the beginning of the conversation, the researcher, by virtue of her role as interviewer, controlled the introduction of all topics through a series of formal questions to the subjects. After the opening episode, however, the other participants began to introduce their own topics and thus established a measure of individual control. Subject 5, as has been shown earlier, not only introduced topics, but also demanded the right to continue other participants' topics by interrupting their utterances so frequently that they would yield their turns to him.

The conversation dealt with such themes as integration, legal issues, education of immigrants, discrimination, language problems, etc. Within those themes a large number of sub-topics were introduced by the participants. Some topic boundaries could easily be identified when the interviewer asked a specific question and the subjects responded with specific answers to the topics raised. At times, however, participants would raise entirely different issues in response to a specific question, voicing their own concerns rather than answering the question itself. Furthermore, the subjects frequently ventured in new

thematic directions, either as a reaction to another subject's utterances or as a continuation of their own contributions, and thus, the topics changed as a result of the natural flow of the conversation.

Though any topic analysis must be considered, to a large extent, a subjective interpretation of the progression of a conversation, Table 5-15 attempts to give a schematic representation of the flow of topics during the Moroccan discussion. In addition, the shifts in control are presented through the measures of (1) topic initiation, (2) number of turns per segment, and (3) number of words per segment.³ The table shows that topic control, though it may be a less objective measure and may be harder to identify, tends to give a more precise indication of the level of control during the conversation.

TABLE 5-15
TOPICS

Turns	Topic	Initiated by	Control per Segment		Seg- ment
			Turns	Words	
1-46	introduction	N	N & S1	N & S1	1
47-89	integration	N	N & S1	N & S1	2
90-103	school	S4			
104-120	attitudes towards immigrants	N			
121-144	role of women	N	N & S2	N & S1	3

TABLE 5-15, continued

Turns	Topic	Initiated by	Control per Segment Turns Words		Seg- ment
145-163	integration	N			
164-169	laws and customs	N			
170-233	marriage and residency	S2			
234-244	legislation and housing	N	S5 & N	S5 & N	4
245-269	inequality in legal matters	S5			
270-281	discrimination	S4			
282-364	politics	N			
365-382	personal experiences with discrimination	N			
383-396	discrimination in media	S4	N & S4	S1 & S4	5
397-402	discrimination in school	S3			
404-425	the Dutch and discrimination	S1			
426-438	educaton	N			
439-468	language problems	S2			
469-506	crime	S3			
607-597	school	S3	S4 & S3	S4 & S1	6
598-602	language and school	N	N & S5	N & S1	7
603-635	university admission	S1			
636-644	school curriculum	N			
645-657	language	S5	S5 & N	S5 & S4	8
658-667	curriculum	S4			

TABLE 5-15, continued

Turns	Topic	Initiated by	Control per Segment Turns Words	Segment
668-694	level of education	S5		
695-700	quality of education	S4		
701-764	Moroccans in Dutch schools	N		
765-828	segregation in a Rotterdam school	S5		
829-842	laws against foreigners	S1		
843-848	closing	N		

5.5 Summary

This chapter has analyzed an extended conversation by five Moroccan men who were learning Dutch as their second language. A quantitative approach was used to provide an objective measure for analysis of the dynamics of the interaction over time. Though no statistical tests were used because the small sample size (five subjects) was not suitable for tests of significance, the quantitative data were nevertheless found to be valuable for analysis of an extended conversation.

Various discourse strategies were investigated both within the specific context of this conversation and from the perspective of interethnic communication. The findings

show that there were a number of differences in cultural style between Moroccan speakers of Dutch and native speakers. The Moroccan-Dutch speakers, for instance, used back-channel utterances to regain conversational control, expressed formality through discourse topic organization, made extensive use of repetitions as part of their argumentative style, and employed simultaneous speech as a solidarity strategy.

5.6 Notes

¹ In the examples given in the text, the following transcription conventions are used: 1) a number at the beginning of a line or of an example indicates the turn number; 2) pauses or points at which an interruption occurred are indicated by three dots (...); 3) bracketed dots [...] indicate an omission from the text.

² In addition, differences may occur between male and female speakers with respect to simultaneous speech.

³ Topic change, of course, did generally not coincide with segment transitions; therefore, topics which were divided over two segments have been counted with the segment of which they occupied the largest part.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1 Introduction

This study has investigated some aspects of conversational interaction of second generation Moroccans learning Dutch as a second language. Although the distinction between the terms second generation and transitional generation was rejected, the research focused specifically on older second generation youths, as relatively little is known about the sociolinguistic situation of adolescent and young adult Moroccans who were not born in the Netherlands but arrived at a later age. Though most of the subjects were of secondary school age and attended either a school for MAVO or the International Linking Classes, a small number of older subjects who were employed or who were attending a more advanced type of education, was included as well. This chapter will summarize the main findings of the study on a chapter by chapter basis and, where appropriate, will indicate suggestions for further research.

6.2 Policy Issues

Chapter Two traced the history of the labor migrations in Western Europe and focused specifically on the situation of immigrants in the Netherlands. It was shown that the migrations developed from a temporary labor supply situation into a permanent phenomenon and, consequently, the status of the second generation must be seen as vastly different from that of the first generation. The magnitude of the problem caused many predominantly monolingual and monocultural Western European countries to formulate policies addressing the situation of the ethnic minorities within their borders.

Immigrant policy formulation in the Netherlands and its implications for educational practice were reviewed. The most current issues concerning the education of minority children were found to be (1) initial intervention after family reunification (transitional education); (2) relevance of policies for children of disadvantaged backgrounds to the situation of immigrant children; (3) native language and culture teaching; and (4) intercultural education.

A review of the literature underscored the need for attention to the problems of the older second generation in the European host societies. Within the Netherlands in particular, many of the Moroccan youths within this age group have been shown to experience feelings of alienation and consider themselves to be a "lost generation." As an

estimated 40.000 more older children of immigrants are anticipated to be reunified with their families within the near future, the problem is expected to continue to grow. Especially the education of this group poses a dilemma, for many were found to have had little or no education at all in their own country and a large percentage has exceeded Dutch compulsory school age by the time they arrive in the Netherlands. Thus, they are severely disadvantaged compared to the younger immigrant children.

Of the immigrant children who attend secondary education, many are placed in lower or intermediate school levels or in vocational education. Very few are able to attend higher levels of education such as college preparatory education or continuing training (e.g. teacher training, business school, etc.). Brassé and de Vries (1986) ascribe the low level of education attained by immigrant children mainly to a lack of education in the home country rather than to the transition process. However, interviews with students in this study suggest that when students had attended college preparatory education or comparable schooling in Morocco, little attention was paid to their educational background during transitional education. Several students, for instance, complained about the low educational level. The literature furthermore suggests that a disproportionate number of immigrant children are sent from ISK's to lower secondary or

vocational schools and few have the opportunity to continue at more advanced levels. Van den Berg-Eldering (1986: 194 ff.) reports various shortcomings of ISK education, such as problems in connecting with the regular school system, too high a concentration of foreign students, and inadequate attention to students' problems. She concludes that thus far ISK's have had a segregating rather than integrating effect on immigrant education. Informal observations and interviews with ISK students in this study suggest that too much emphasis may be given to acquisition of Dutch language skills alone, whereas overall academic preparation did not appear integrated with second language acquisition.

In conclusion, in view of the vast differences in language and culture between Morocco and the Netherlands it appears short-sighted to dismiss the effects of the transition process as irrelevant to the problems of the students. While some of the problems of children of lower educational backgrounds have been recognized, insufficient attention appears to be given to students with more advanced backgrounds. Transitional education must be capable of preparing such students for a level of education equivalent to that to which they had been accustomed. Secondly, this study supports the views expressed in previous investigations that the status of Dutch as a second language must be explored within the total context of education. Within immigrant education, the primary goal should not be

the students' acquisition of Dutch language skills alone, but role of language should be seen in the broader perspective of the students' ability to function adequately in the Dutch educational system. Finally, it would be worthwhile to address the problem of negative stereotyping in school settings. Specifically the issue of teacher attitudes towards students and the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of teacher expectations needs further investigation.

6.3 Conversational Analysis: Theoretical Issues

It was argued in Chapter Three that a multi-channelled approach to data analysis would be most appropriate for complex speech situations such as that of the second generation immigrants discussed here. The heterogeneity of the subjects with regard to, for instance, linguistic and ethnic background, age, and education, has an effect on variability in conversational interaction and requires insights from various related fields for a thorough evaluation.

The framework employed in this study combined the perspectives of the ethnography of communication, correlational sociolinguistics, and second language acquisition as a basis for analyzing the conversations of adolescent and young adult speakers. The question of the role of quantitative data within conversational analysis was

addressed as well. An evaluation of the results of this research indicates that quantification of certain conversational parameters can, for instance, be used to (1) gain insights into the basic structure of a specific speech event, (2) objectively compare individual contributions, (3) establish a measure of progression over time, and (4) facilitate generalizations of large quantities of conversational data. Particularly this last point was found to be of great benefit to understanding conversational behavior. Quantification of the conversations with Moroccan students, for example, allowed an objective measure of comparison between the two groups of second language learners. Within a comprehensive framework of analysis, quantitative data, then, can provide a useful basis for a more extended discussion of conversational strategies.

6.4 Second Language Acquisition Issues

Chapter Four investigated the conversational competence of two groups of students who spoke Dutch as a second language. It addressed the question of the effect of social and situational variables on the use of Dutch by immigrants and evaluated sociodemographic and conversational variables to L2 discourse skills.

The findings show that students integrated in the Dutch school system used Dutch as their primary language of communication in the school situation and in peer

interaction, whereas the students in transitional education tended to rely on their native languages. Transitional education appeared to primarily function as an environment for learning Dutch, but did not contribute significantly to the acquisition of Dutch.

The sociodemographic variables length of residence (LOR) and age at arrival were found to be more strongly correlated with conversational variables than age. Mean length of turn and total word count, for instance, were positively correlated with these variables. Age, however, could only be correlated with simultaneous speech. Moreover, no differences were observed between the adolescent and young adult speakers concerning any of the conversational variables except simultaneous speech. The findings in this study, then, suggest that age might neither be a positive nor a negative factor in the acquisition of conversational competence by second language learners.

A number of cultural differences in discourse style were noted with respect to frequency of turn-taking and interruptions. Factors of age and education, however, contributed to the frequency of simultaneous speech in conversational interaction. Overall comparisons between the two groups of language learners revealed that though beginning learners were not as capable in producing more complex utterances, they were nevertheless quite proficient in maintaining the flow of conversation.

The findings in this research with respect to second language acquisition may have some implications for educational practice. Recognizing differences in strategies among L2 learners may be useful in teaching oral production skills. Rather than regarding beginning learners as incapable of producing natural conversation, teachers may be able to take advantage of the specific conversational strategies employed by the students. Moreover, teachers need to be aware of differences in discourse style between long-time residents and more recently-arrived immigrants.

6.5 Discourse Strategies

Chapter Five provided a more in-depth analysis of the strategies used in an extended conversational interaction with five Moroccan men. The findings supported the observations made in Chapter Four that cultural differences in discourse style exist between native or near-native speakers of Dutch and Moroccan immigrants who speak Dutch as their second language.

Several culture-specific strategies were found to occur in natural conversation. A speaker's use of back-channel utterances, for instance, could function as a means for re-establishing control in a conversation rather than as a sign of "coordinated hearership." Formality of discourse was expressed through topic organization. Simultaneous speech, which was shown in Chapter Four to occur more with older and

better educated speakers, could be used as a solidarity strategy. Repetitions of utterances served as a coherence strategy, but were also considered characteristic of the Arabic argumentative style. These findings support Koch's (1983) analysis of repetitions which was primarily based on written data.

As Gumperz (1983) has pointed out, in interethnic encounters participants may make widely divergent conversational inferences depending on a variety of factors such as individual backgrounds, setting, sociocultural assumptions, etc. Within Moroccan-Dutch interactions an awareness of differences in cultural style could be of value in avoiding miscommunications. The results of this chapter indicate a number of differences in strategies in intercultural conversations. However, further research would be needed in this area.

6.6 Summary

This investigation must be regarded as exploratory in nature, and the findings, therefore, are considered to be preliminary. In light of the work presented in this study three areas in particular would merit further attention. First, a better insight, preferably through the help of native Moroccan field workers, is needed into the cultural differences between Moroccan Arabic- and Berber-speaking immigrants. Sociolinguistic research should be directed

towards a more thorough understanding of the conversational strategies of these two groups. Second, the problem of male versus female speech behavior needs to be explored, as the findings of this study suggest that men and women adopt different strategies in conversational interactions, for instance, with regards to control and simultaneous speech. Finally, an increase in the data set, especially of natural conversations, would allow more precise observations and more valid generalizations on the conversational behavior of Moroccan-Dutch immigrants.

This chapter has outlined some implications of the results reported here and suggested areas for further research. The complexity of the linguistic situation of the older second generation merits further investigation both from a sociolinguistic perspective and from applied areas of research.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name: _____
2. Address: _____
3. Date of birth : _____
4. Date/year of arrival
in the Netherlands: _____
5. Hometown in Morocco: _____
6. Which school are you attending? _____
Which grade? _____
7. Did you go to school in Morocco? Yes/No*
If yes, what kind of school? _____
8. What is your father's profession? _____
Your mother's? _____
9. How many older brothers do you have? _____
Older sisters? _____
Younger brothers? _____
Younger sisters? _____
10. Please indicate which language you speak in these
situations.

	Berber only	Dutch and Berber	Arabic only	Dutch and Arabic	Dutch only
home	—	—	—	—	—
at school	—	—	—	—	—
with friends	—	—	—	—	—
in shops	—	—	—	—	—
11. Do you get extra lessons to learn Dutch? Yes/No*
If yes, where? _____
How many hours per week? _____

12. Do you get extra lessons to learn Arabic? Yes/No*

Are you learning to read and write it? Yes/No*

If yes, where? _____

How many hours per week? _____

13. Describe your knowledge of Dutch.

	Excellent	Good	Average	Difficult	Not at all
speaking	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
understanding	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
reading	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
writing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

*Circle the appropriate item.

APPENDIX B
OUTLINE FOR STUDENT INTERVIEW

I. Home

1. Where do you live?
2. Except for your parents and brothers and sisters, are there other people living in your house?
3. How long did you live there?
4. Have you ever lived in other places in Holland (or Europe)?

II. School

1. What do you like best about school?
2. Are you learning Dutch during schooltime? How about Arabic?
3. Are your classes in Dutch?
4. Which subject do you like most?
5. What do you want to do after you graduate?

III. Culture/Religion

1. Does your family attend the mosque?
2. Do you fast during Ramadan?
3. Have you ever visited Mecca?
4. Where does your family buy the meat?
5. Do you recite the five prayers during the day or the evening?
6. Does your father ever drink alcohol?
7. Does your mother object to that?
8. Does your mother wear a veil?

IV. Literacy

1. Does your family read the Koran?
2. Can you read Arabic?
3. Do your parents read Arabic or Dutch newspapers?
4. Do you get much news from Morocco? Letters or tapes?
5. Can your father read Dutch? Arabic? French? How about your mother?

V. Morocco

1. Can you tell me a little about Morocco?
2. In what part of Morocco did you live?
3. How long did you live there?
4. When did you come to Holland?
5. Did you go to school in Morocco?
6. How long has your father been in Holland?
7. Can you think of some differences between Holland and Morocco?

VI. The Netherlands

1. Do you like living in Holland?
2. Would you like to stay here or would you rather go back to Morocco? Why?
3. Where would you like to work?
4. What do you do during the weekends?

VII. Language Use

1. Which language do you use most: Dutch, Arabic or Berber?
2. Which language do you use most at home?
3. Do you often speak Dutch with your friends?
4. Who helps you most in learning Dutch?

APPENDIX C
OUTLINE FOR TALK WITH AMMU SUBJECTS

1. How do you like it in Holland? Would you like to stay here or would you rather go back to Morocco? Why?
2. Where do you think will it be easier to find a job, in Holland or in Morocco?
3. What would be some reasons to either stay in Holland or to return to Morocco?
4. Do you have a lot of Dutch acquaintances? Are they at work, in school, neighbors, leisure activities?
5. When you meet Dutch people, do you ever encounter any misunderstandings because of the cultural differences?
6. Can you give any personal examples of discrimination?
7. In what ways would you like to see change in the Netherlands. For instance, more knowledge and a better understanding of Moroccan or Islamic culture on the part of the Dutch; a better housing situation; better educational opportunities; more jobs?
8. Is it possible to practice your religion fully here? E.g. even though there may be mosques, do you have opportunities to pray during work time, etc.?
9. Do you ever have any problems in speaking or understanding Dutch? How do people react (friendly, patient, impatient, condescending, etc.)?
10. What do you do in your spare time?

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

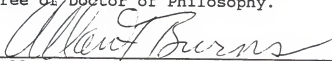
Petronella Lyda Francisca (Nelleke) Van Deusen-Scholl was born on February 17, 1957, in Utrecht, the Netherlands. She graduated from the Christelijk Gymnasium in Utrecht in 1975. After completing her Kandidaatsexamen (B.A.) at the Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, she took part in an exchange program with the University of Florida. She decided to continue her graduate education at the University of Florida and obtained an M.A. in English in 1983. She then entered the Ph.D. program in Linguistics at the same institution.

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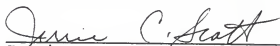
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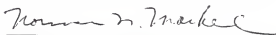
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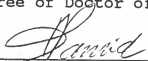
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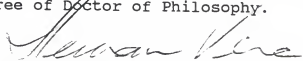
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Program in Linguistics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April, 1988

Dean, Graduate School